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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY,
CONTAINING THE
Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines,
INTERSPERSED WITH NOTICES OF
HERETICS AND SCHISMATICS,
FORMING
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN EVERY AGE.
BY
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VICAR OF LEEDS.

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PREFACE.

THIS Work will be continued in Monthly Parts, and be ready, as before, for delivery with the magazines. It is considered by many desirable to receive the work in Parts, as it enables them, without difficulty, to read it through, and so to obtain an acquaintance with Ecclesiastical History, as well as with the character and principles of our chief Saints and Divines. Arrangements have been made to publish each future Part so as to render it complete in itself; that is to say, any biography which is commenced will be given entire, although the average number of pages (60) be exceeded, a proportionate deduction being made from the number of pages in the succeeding Part. The price is fixed as low as possible, and unless there were many subscribers to the work, it could not be maintained.

PREFACE.

It was stated in the former volume that, although the work is alphabetically arranged, a table would be given, so that it might be read chronologically; and although the two first letters of the alphabet are not yet completed, the reader will perceive from the following table, that if he reads the Lives chronologically, he will have already a history of the Church, or of some considerable portion of it, in almost every century. Only those names are inserted in this table which belong to personages more or less engaged in the public transactions of their age.

TABLE.

CENTURY III.

St Anthony.

St Alban.

CENTURY IV.

St Athanasius.

St Ambrose.

St Augustine.

St Basil.

Arius.

Aerius

Aetius.

Apolinarius.

Arsenius.

Basil of Ancyra.

CENTURY V.

St Benedict.

CENTURY VI.

Augustine of Canterbury.

CENTURY VII.

Adrian.

Aidan.

Aldhelm.

Bede.

Benedict Biscop

CENTURY VIII.

Alcuin.

CENTURY X.

Elfrie.

CENTURY XI.

Aldred.

Anselm.

CENTURY XII.

St Bernard.

Alexander of Blois

Baldwin.

Barri.

Becket.

Breuys.

Abelard.

Arnold of Brescia.

CENTURY XIII.

Albertus Magnus

Thomas Aquinas

Agnelli.

Boniface of Canterbury.

Bonaventure.

TABLE.

CENTURY XIV.

Arundel.
Bradwarden.
Ailly.

CENTURY XV.

Beaufort, Cardinal.
Bourcher.
Adrian de Castello.
Aleander.
Bassarion.

CENTURY XVI.

Beaton.
Beccold.
Beza.
Bilney.
Bonner.
Bourn.
Bale.
Aylmer.
Alan.
Baro.
Barnes.
Adamson.
Agricola.
Ainsworth.
Alley.
Alsop.
Anderson.

Andreæ.
Arminius.
Barlow.
Biddle.
Brown.

CENTURY XVII.

Bancroft.
Andrewes.
Abbot.
Alleine.
Allestree.
Ambrose.
Arnauld.
Asheton.
Baronius.
Barrow
Barwick.
Basire
Baxter.

CENTURY XVIII.

Atterbury.
Bedell.
Berkeley.
Beveridge.
Bossuet.
Blackburne.
Blackwell.
Alexander.
Badcock.

ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY.

BASIL, SAINT. Saint Basil the great was born at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, about the year 329. His parents were persons of rank and wealth, distinguished yet more by their Christian virtues, who had fled to the wilds of Pontus, during the Maximinian persecution. His grandfather on the mother's side had received the crown of martyrdom. His father, whose profession was that of rhetoric, was named Basil, and his mother's name was Emmelia. Under them he received a Christian education, but he expresses himself as peculiarly indebted for the formation of his mind, to his grandmother Macrina. In writing to the Church of Neocæsarea, in after years, he says, "what clearer evidence can there be of my faith, than that I was brought up by my grandmother, blessed woman, who came from you? I mean the celebrated Macrina, who taught me the words of the blessed Gregory; (Gregory Thaumaturgus;) which, as far as memory had preserved down to her day, she cherished herself, while she fashioned and formed me, being yet a child, upon the doctrines of piety." And afterwards: "I have many subjects of self-reproach, but thanks to the grace of God, I have never given in to any false doctrine, nor varied in my sentiments; having always preserved those which my blessed mother and my grandmother Macrina inspired in me: these good principles have developed themselves with my understanding as I have advanced in years, but the seed was sown in me in my earliest youth, and such as it

was, such has it brought forth." It is sometimes said that the sons of widows generally turn out well : and this is doubtless because of the many promises of God to the fatherless and widow : but in viewing second causes, we may say that it is because so much of female tenderness, mixed with consistent discipline, is brought to bear on the manly character. No really great man, certainly no good man, can exist, unless the heart has been cultivated as well as the intellect ; unless to a powerful understanding be united an affectionate disposition : and of the two, the cultivation of the heart in man, the encouragement of the more gentle sympathies and sentiments of our nature, is even more important than the exercise of the mental faculties ; though the character cannot be properly formed, unless to both points attention be directed. This will account for the fact that almost every man distinguished for a union of virtue with genius, has been able to trace his excellence to maternal, or at least to female superintendence in his education. To this rule, we have seen that St Basil formed no exception.

St Basil was eminently happy also in his father, who, when he found him sufficiently grounded in the truth, sent him, for the further education of his mind, first to Cæsarea, and then to Constantinople. At the former place he became acquainted with St Gregory Nazianzen, with whom he renewed his friendship on his removal to Athens, where they both met again, being sent there, as we should say, " to complete their education," though in truth the education of a Christian mind never ceases. The Christian Church is a school in which we take lessons in godliness as long as life lasts. The characters of Basil and of Gregory were so different, that later in life misunderstandings occurred between them, without, however, any permanent violation of that friendship which was founded on a mutual admiration of each other's excellence. But the friendship, it would seem, commenced, and perhaps was kept up, by Gregory's extreme admiration of Basil ; although Basil returned Gregory's affection, the

enthusiasm of friendship was on Gregory's side. It was in the year 351 that Basil entered the university of Athens and found Gregory there, ready and anxious to protect his friend from those little annoyances to which fresh-men were exposed, but which the sedate disposition of Basil was likely to resist. St Gregory gives us an interesting account of the mode of living among the young men of Athens, and in his funeral oration on the death of St Basil, he adverts with his usual enthusiasm to days gone by: "How dear," he says, "is Athens to my remembrance! It was there that I learned really to know Basil. I went there in search of knowledge, and I found happiness. We soon became every thing to each other; the same roof sheltered as the same table served us; even the same thoughts occupied our minds. We pursued our studies with equal ardour; we each sought success, that great object of jealousy among men, and yet envy was unknown between us. We disputed, we argued, not for the honour of pre-eminence, but for the pleasure of yielding it. It seemed as if our bodies were animated by the same soul. Our daily occupation was the practice of virtue: the care of living for our eternal hopes, and that of detaching ourselves from this world, before we should be called upon to quit it. Nothing was more noble in our eyes than the endeavour to exalt each other above material things, and increase our faith. We estranged ourselves from such of our fellow students as were irregular in their conduct or language, and associated only with those whose conversation might be profitable to us. Our feet were familiar with only two streets; one to the church, and to the holy teachers and doctors who there attended the service of the altar, and nourished the flock of Christ with the food of life; the other, which we held in less esteem, to the schools, where we listened to our masters in the sciences. Spectacles, diversions, and banquets, we abandoned to those who were unfortunate enough to take pleasure in them. The sole business of our existence, its

most glorious prerogative in our eyes, was to be called Christians, and to be such."

In the year 357 Basil left Athens, though strongly urged and entreated by his fellow-students, and even his master, to remain longer among them, and hastened, through Constantinople, to Cæsarea, in the hope of seeing his father, who was dangerously ill. This venerable parent was dead before his arrival; and settling at Cæsarea Basil began to practise at the bar. The success, and even adulation, which Basil had received at Athens, had evidently subjected him to a temptation which he found it the more difficult to overcome when, in his practice at the bar, a similar success and admiration attended him. He was beginning to think extravagantly of his own abilities, and to encourage feelings of vanity, (being indeed not only eloquent as a speaker, but equally skilled in languages, science, and literature,) when he found a timely monitor in his sister Macrina. He had benefited too much by female instruction in his childhood, to think scorn of woman's advice in his later years; and the sister who bore his venerated grandmother's name, succeeded in her endeavours to awaken him to a sense of his danger. St Basil, in his 233rd epistle, describes both his feelings and his course of conduct: "After long time spent in vanity, and almost the whole of my youth vanishing in the idle toil of studying that wisdom which God has made folly, at length, roused as from a deep sleep, I gazed upon the marvellous light of Gospel truth, and discerned the unprofitableness of the wisdom taught by the perishing authorities of this world; much did I bewail my wretched life, and pray that guidance would be vouchsafed to me for an entrance into the doctrines of godliness. And above all was it a care to me to reform my heart, which the long society of the corrupt had perverted. So when I read the Gospel, and perceived thence that the best start towards perfection was to sell my goods and share them with indigent brethren, and altogether to be reckless of

this life, and to rid my soul of all sympathy with things on earth, I earnestly desired to find some brother who had made the same choice, and who might take the voyage with me over the brief waves of this life. Many did I find in Alexandria, many in the rest of Egypt, and in Palestine, in Cœle-Syria and Mesopotamia, whose abstinence and endurance I admired, and whose constancy in prayer I was amazed at, how they overcame sleep, being broken by no natural necessity, bearing ever a high and free spirit in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, not regarding the body, nor enduring to spend any thought upon it, but living as if in flesh not their own; how they showed in deed what it is to sojourn in this world; what it is to have our conversation in heaven. Admiring and extolling the life of these men, who could so in deed carry about with them the dying of the Lord Jesus, I desired that I myself, as far as I could attain, might be an imitator of them."

In reference to the determination of Basil, to adopt a monastic kind of life, Mr Newman remarks, "that in the early ages it was scarcely possible to attain that state of life which a pious clergyman desires to lead, except in monastic institutions; *but which in our favoured country, where Christianity has been long established, is, in its substance, the privilege of ten thousand parsonages up and down the land!*" Who does not wish that the highly-gifted writer of the passage just quoted would always thus think and speak of his holy mother, the venerated church of England; and that, while aware of the disadvantages under which we labour, he could also see as clearly now, as when he penned this passage, the many advantages with which we are blessed! The course of discipline which is necessary in one age of the Church, may not be expedient in another, though the principle is in all ages the same,—the principle of self-discipline and self-denial, for the edification of our souls in godliness, and the promotion of God's glory.

The situation which St Basil chose for his retreat was

a desert spot in Pontus. In this retreat he had several followers, and they passed their time in devotional exercises, works of charity, and the study of sacred literature. Gregory would gladly have shared his retreat, but was retained by sacred duties in the bosom of his family. In answer to Basil's urgent invitation to join him, Gregory writes thus :

“ I have not, it is true, stood to my word ; having protested, ever since our friendship and union of heart at Athens, that I would be your companion, and follow a strict life with you. Yet I act against my wish : duty is annulled by duty, the duty of friendship by the duty of filial reverence. At the same time, I still shall be able to perform my promise in a measure, if you will accept thus much. I will come to you for a time, if, in turn, you will give me your company here ; thus we shall be quits in friendly service, while we have all things common. And thus I shall avoid distressing my parents, without losing you.”

St Basil himself gives an account of his retreat, which, though Gregory was facetious upon it, and represents some of its charms as owing their lustre to the brightness of his friend's imagination, must be substantially correct : “ What we have often delighted to picture in our imaginations, it is at length granted me to see in reality. I have before me a high mountain clothed with a thick forest, watered on the north side by fresh and limpid streams ; at the foot of this mountain is spread a plain perpetually fertilized by the waters which fall from the surrounding heights, whilst the forest, encircling it with trees of every variety, self-planted, in all the wildness of nature, serves it at once as a boundary and a defence. The island of Calypso would appear nothing after it, though Homer admired it, above all others, for its beauty. The place is divided into two deep valleys : on one side the river, which precipitates itself from the peak of the mountain, forms a long barrier in its course, difficult to surmount ; and on the other the wide ridge of the mountain, which communicates with the

valley only by a few winding intricate paths, shuts out all passage,—there is but one means of access, and of that we are the masters. My dwelling is built on one of the slopes of the mountain, the extremity of which juts out like a promontory. From it I survey the opening plain, and follow the course of the river, more delightful to me than the Strymon is to the inhabitants of Amphipolis; the still and lazy waters of the Strymon, indeed, scarcely deserve the name of a river: but this, the most rapid I have ever seen, breaks against the rocks, and, thrown back again by them, falls headlong into foaming waves, and precipitates itself into the deep gulph below; affording at once a most delightful spectacle, and an abundant supply of food, for there is an astonishing quantity of fish in its waters. Shall I speak of the fragrant dews of the earth, the freshness which exhales from the river? Another would describe the variety of the flowers, and the songs of the birds, but to these I have no leisure to pay attention. What I have to say the best of all of the spot is, that, along with the abundance of every thing, it affords likewise, what is to me the sweetest of all,—and that is, tranquillity. It is not only far removed from the noise of cities, but it is not even visited by travellers, except sometimes by a few hunters who come among us; for we also have our wild beasts: not the bears and wolves of your mountains, but troops of stags, herds of wild goats, hares, and other animals as inoffensive. Pardon me, then, for having flown to this asylum; Alcmeon himself stopped when he came to the islands of the Echinades.”

It is not, however, change of place that can immediately give change of heart; and Basil, with his characteristic frankness, acknowledged to Gregory in another letter, that he found it more difficult to effect this than he had imagined.

“I recognize,” says he, “in the sentiments of your letter the hand which has traced them, as in looking at a child, we are reminded of its parents by a family likeness. You write to me that the place I have chosen for my

retreat makes no difference to you : that all you desire is to know my mode of life, that you may come and join me in it. Such a thought is every way worthy of one like yourself, who annexes no importance to the things of this world, in comparison with the beatitudes which are promised us in the next. ‘How do I pass,’ you ask, ‘my days and nights in the retirement in which I am now living?’ Must I tell you? Alas! it will not be without confusion. I have left cities and their turmoil behind me. I have renounced every thing in them without regret, but I have not yet been able to renounce myself. I compare myself to voyagers who have not got accustomed to the sea, and to whom the motion of the vessel imparts the most uncomfortable sensations, because, in quitting land, they still bring on board with them the bile with which their stomach was overloaded. This is exactly the state in which I am. As long as ever we carry about with us the germs of the maladies that torment us, the place makes no difference : we shall find every where the same sorrowful results. I will confess to you, then, that I have not yet experienced any great benefit from my solitude. What, then, is to be done, and how, then, ought we to act, in order to follow faithfully in the steps of the Master who has opened to us the way of salvation, saying, ‘*If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.*’ Thus it is that we must act ; we must, in the first place, labour to keep our minds in a calm and uniform consistency. When the eyes are accustomed to wander about in all directions, it becomes impossible to fix them on any object so steadfastly as to consider it under every point of view ; yet we must look at it earnestly, to make it out entirely. It is the same with the mind ; when it is divided by the solitudes of the world, it cannot concentrate its attention upon the determinate nature of truth. . . . He who is not yet yoked in the bonds of matrimony, is harassed by frenzied cravings, and rebellious impulses, and hopeless attachments ; he who has found his mate is encompassed with

his own tumult of cares : if he is childless, there is desire of children ; has he children ? anxiety about their education, attention to his wife, care of his house, oversight of his servants, misfortunes in trade, quarrels with his neighbours, lawsuits, the risks of the merchant, the toil of the farmer. Each day, as it comes, darkens the soul in its own way ; and night after night takes up the day's anxieties, and cheats the mind with illusions in accordance. Now one way of escaping all this is separation from the whole world. What I mean by the expression, separation from the world, is not merely to remove the body to a distance from it, but to detach all our affections from it ; to relinquish country, home, society, business, interests, human sciences ; absolutely to divorce ourselves from all, in order that our souls may be entirely at liberty to receive the impressions the Lord may be pleased to make upon them. We cannot imprint new characters upon wax, till we have effaced the old ones : in the same manner the divine instructions cannot find place in a heart pre-occupied by all the ideas connected with the usual affairs of life.

“ One of the first benefits to be derived from retirement is the imposing silence on the disorderly movements of our own hearts, and affording the calm to reason, that is necessary to enable us to conquer our passions, which, like ferocious beasts, are only to be subjugated by being bowed under the yoke. Let us, then, suppose a solitude such as the desert in which I now am, far from the commerce of mankind, where the pious exercises of a religious life, being uninterrupted by outward things, afford continual nourishment to the soul. Can you imagine a felicity more desirable than that of imitating on earth that life which the angels lead in heaven ? To commence the day with prayers and sacred melodies, which bring us into immediate communication with our Creator ; continuing it by the same exercises, mingling with our labour the holy songs which give it its sweetest relish, and diffuse such delicious consolations over the soul as constantly to

keep it in a state of ravishing serenity? It is by this majestic equilibrium in the movements of the soul, that we are purified: by not permitting the tongue to indulge in idle conversation; the eyes to dwell on the vain glory of mere outward things; the ears to introduce to the soul any thing of effeminacy or frivolity, mere mundane music, or the heartless jests of trifling minds.

“The soul, secured by these precautions from exterior diversion, and the attacks of the senses, retires within itself, and elevates its own nature to the contemplation of the Deity. Enlightened by the rays which shine forth from His divine essence, it rises above its own weakness; freed from temporal cares, corporeal necessities, and affections of earth, it devotes all its powers to the search after immortal good, and makes its sole occupation to consist in the practice of temperance, prudence, fortitude, justice,—in a word, of all the virtues that compose the code of Christian morality.

“The surest way to understand thoroughly all that is required of us, is to meditate upon the Holy Scriptures, which bring before our eyes at once the precepts necessary for the direction of our conduct, and the examples of virtue best calculated to serve us as models. Hence, in whatever respect each one feels himself deficient, devoting himself to this imitation, he finds, as from some dispensary, the due medicine for his ailment. He who is enamoured of chastity, dwells upon the history of Joseph, and from him learns chaste actions, finding him not only possessed of self-command over pleasure, but virtuously-minded in habit. He is taught endurance from Job. Or, should he be inquiring how to be at once meek and great-hearted, hearty against sin, meek towards men, he will find David noble in warlike exploits, meek and unruffled as regards revenge on enemies. Such, too, was Moses, rising up with great heart upon sinners against God, but with meek soul bearing their evil speaking against himself. These meditations ought to be succeeded by prayer, which strengthens the energy of the soul, by the flame of divine

love it kindles in it. Prayer also diffuses light over the mysteries of the divine essence. Prayer makes the soul the residence of God Himself, by filling its intelligence and perceptions with a profound impression of His presence : it makes the Christian a temple of the divinity ; a sanctuary which neither the cares nor the revolutions that agitate the world, nor the lawless affections which make all our misery, dare venture to approach : separated from every thing beside, it then communes only with God.

“ One of the first objects of our care in a religious community ought to be so to regulate our conversation, as to contract the habit of proposing questions to each other, without any mixture of a disputatious spirit, and of giving our answers without any pretension to superiority ; never to interrupt any one who may be speaking of something useful ; to refrain from endeavouring to shine in conversation ; to love to learn, without feeling ashamed at our need of learning ; to impart what we know, without suffering our vanity to be gratified by imparting it, and without hiding from ourselves or others the source whence we may have derived our information, but always making known, with gratitude, to whomsoever we may be indebted for it. The sound of the voice should also be attended to, that we may draw neither too much, nor too little attention by it. Let us always reflect well on what we are going to say, before we give it utterance ; let us show ourselves polite, attentive, affectionate in our language, but let us not lend our ears to any thing of light or foolish jesting,—let us, on the contrary, mildly check, by friendly remonstrance, those who may be in the habit of indulging in it. We ought never to allow ourselves any harshness, either of manner or tone, even to recall to duty those who may have suffered themselves to wander from it. Always in matters of exhortation place yourself in the lowest place : you are sure by that means to gain him who may have need of your advice. In such cases we cannot do better than take for our model the prophet, who, charged with the rebuking of David in his sin, does not pronounce,

in his own person, the sentence of condemnation on him, but borrowing the character of a stranger, in which to make his appeal to the king's individual judgment, leaves him, when he pronounces sentence against him, no plea for complaint against his accuser."

In all these precepts we have the rules which Basil himself felt it necessary to impose on his own infirmities, and thus they became an indirect expression of his acute sense of his own imperfections.

With what humility does he also express himself on the same subject to his friend Amphilochus:—"I have indeed renounced the world," he says, "as far as withdrawing myself from communication with it may be to renounce it; but I feel that the man of the world still lives in me. You know I have practised at the bar, hence I have contracted a habit of speaking too much. I am not sufficiently on my guard against the thoughts which the evil one suggests to me; I find difficulty in relinquishing the favourable opinion I had entertained of myself,—in a word, my whole soul has need of being renewed and purified, before I can contemplate, without impediment, the wonders and glory of my God."

It was nevertheless with inward and sweet consolation that Basil began to see, in the way of life he had embraced, the means afforded him of gradual approach to that perfection of the regenerate which was the object of all his most ardent desires.

"It is certain," says he, again addressing his friend Gregory, "that retirement from the world affords great assistance towards the attainment of this end: it calms and subdues the passions, and gradually induces a habit of sacred meditation."

At a future period, when he found himself more and more strengthened in his renunciation of every thing that had formerly tended to engender in him a vain-glorious spirit and worldly desires, he was enabled to write thus to Eusebius:

"I have lost much time from having spent my youth

in the study of vain sciences, and the acquirement of that worldly wisdom which is foolishness in the sight of God ; but now these wretched illusions are dispersed ; I deplore the uselessness of my past life ; I see the emptiness of the acquirements which serve no other end than to inflate us with vain-glory, and the wonderful light of the Evangelists is become my sole treasure. It was indeed incumbent upon me to reform my habits, which retained but too much of the long commerce I had had with the children of this world."

Basil was joined by his friend in 359. Their happiness on this reunion, and the manner in which they passed their time, may be described by St Gregory, when in writing to his friend he says : "Who shall make me as in months past, as in the days when I had the luxury of suffering hardship with you ? since voluntary pain is higher than involuntary comfort. Who shall restore me to those psalmodies, and vigils, and departures to God through prayer, and that (as it were) immaterial and incorporeal life ? or to that union of brethren, in nature and soul, who are made gods by you, and carried on high ? or to that rivalry in virtue and sharpening of heart which we consigned to written decrees and canons ? or to that loving study of divine oracles, and the light we found in them, with the guidance of the Spirit ? or, to speak of lesser and lower things, to the bodily labours of the day, the wood-drawing and the stone-hewing, the planting and the draining ? or that golden plane, more honourable than that of Xerxes, under which, not a jaded king, but a weary monk did sit,—planted by me, watered by Apollos, (that is, your honourable self,) increased by God, unto my honour ; that there should be preserved with you a memorial of my loving toil, as Aaron's rod that budded, was, as Scripture says and we believe, kept in the ark. It is very easy to wish all this, not easy to gain. Do you, however, come to me, and revive my virtue, and work with me ; and, whatever benefit we once gained together, preserve

for me by your prayers, lest otherwise I fade away by little and little, as a shadow, while the day declines. For you are my breath, more than the air, and so far only do I live, as I am in your company, either present, or, if absent, by your image."

At this period, St Gregory, though he enjoyed the society of his friend, indulged himself in some pleasantry on the subject of St Basil's mode of living. The austerities of Basil did indeed become severe: Gregory tells us, after St Basil's death, that "he had but one tunic and one outer garment; a bed on the ground, little sleep, no luxurious bath: his pleasantest meal consisted of bread and salt, and his drink that sober liquor of which there is no stint, which is elaborated in the gushing spring."

The *Ascetica* of St Basil are supposed to have been written by him during his retreat: we say "supposed," because the genuineness of these treatises is disputed. At what time Basil was ordained is doubtful, but he was certainly a deacon in 359, when he attended a council held before Constantius, at Constantinople, to oppose the Anomœans. In 362 he was again summoned from his retirement, to attend the death bed of Dianius, bishop of Cæsarea, to whom St Basil was personally attached, though to his principles he was much opposed. Dianius had taken part against St Athanasius, but seems rather to have been opposed to the policy of the Nicene test, with respect to the Homo-ousion, than really heretical. He was one of those who would not quarrel about a word, and had not sense to see that in that word the whole controversy was in fact involved; which is indeed always forgotten by those who, in the exercise of their wit display their ignorance, and think it a matter of ridicule that the whole Church, even the world, was convulsed for the sake of an iota, the difference between Homo-ousion and Homoiousion. But so it was; and Dianius, being weak and liberal, he signed, in the year 360, the formulary of the council

of Ariminum, in which the orthodox test of the Homousion being given up, the catholic doctrine was evaded, under the pretence of expressing it only in the words of Scripture. St Basil had ceased from that time to hold intercourse with him, until summoned, as we have stated, to his death bed, when he had the satisfaction of hearing his friend express in his last hours, his hearty adherence to the Nicene formulary.

The Church was at this period in a critical situation. The apostate Julian was on the throne, prepared to assail her from without, and the Arian, or low church faction, were rending her vitals within. In this juncture, the bishop of Cæsarea being dead, the people had the folly to insist upon the election of Eusebius, who was only a catechumen, and consequently "a novice," and the prelates had the weakness to yield to their violence, and to consecrate him to the vacant bishopric.

But the first step taken by Eusebius was a wise one. Feeling his inadequacy to the duties imposed upon him, he secured the services of Basil, and, ordaining him priest in the year 364, acted in all things according to his advice. The awful responsibilities, rather than the dignity of the ministerial office, pressed upon the minds of Christians at this period, and it was contrary to his own wishes that Basil received ordination. It was therefore with congenial feelings that he read a letter from Gregory, in which the latter said: "We have both of us been made priests against our inclinations; perhaps it might have been better for us never to have been raised to the sacerdotal office. This, however, is all that I will say on the subject; for I am not fully conscious what have been the views of God respecting us. Since our lot is cast, it is our duty to submit ourselves to it, above all, on account of the times in which we live, when the tongues of heretics are let loose against us on every side, and to do nothing which may fall below either the hopes that are conceived respecting us, or the life which we have hitherto led." The times were the more difficult, because there was a large body in

the Church, the Semi-arians, with whom the generous spirit of Basil sympathized, who were rather perplexed by the various explanations, refinements, and distinctions to which the Arian controversy had given rise, than perversely heterodox; who opposed the Arians, from whom they had emanated, and shewed an inclination, after the death of Constantius, in 361, to conform to the doctrine of the Church. Basil's tenderness to these persons involved him in difficulties and suspicion throughout his life. But notwithstanding all the difficulties he had to encounter, his labours as a priest were eminently successful. He frequently preached every day in the week, and as a record of his labour we still possess his "Hexæmeron," or nine homilies on the six days of creation, which may be found in the first volume of the Benedictine edition of his works. "The simplest," says his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, "could comprehend his discourses, whilst the wisest admired them." But he preached more especially by the eloquence of his example. He retained in the world the recollected spirit of a recluse, and his life was as regular in the midst of his many avocations, as if he had no other duty to attend to, but the inspection of himself.

Eusebius became jealous. A dispute ensued, which ended in a separation. The separation after the dispute was necessary, for the attachment of the people to Basil was so strong, that it would have been impossible for him, had he continued in his post, to prevent their forming a faction against their bishop, especially as their favourite Basil was the injured party. A weak, a wicked, or an ambitious man, however much he may retain the semblance of piety, can never resist the temporary importance of one who is enabled to place himself at the head of a faction. Many a soul has been ruined by this: though to be the head of a faction requires little intellect; the only thing requisite, is that flexibility of principle which will enable persons to act together under the most degrading of all bonds, though it is always the bond of religious faction, the bond, not of love, but hatred,—hatred directed to a

common object. St Basil was a true churchman; a man of God; and as such was prepared to suffer, rather than injure the Church or damage his own soul. Once again, therefore, he quitted Cæsarea, and retired not unwillingly to his monastic seclusion in Pontus. St Gregory Nazianzen accompanied him, and there, in the serenity of his monastery, and in the society of his friend, he was permitted during three years of retirement, to prepare his soul for the greater trials which awaited him.

For the times were not such as to permit a man of Basil's energy and genius to continue long in seclusion. Valens, the emperor, was a heretic, and determined to establish heresy on the ruins of catholicism: he had already made havoc of the Church of Galatia, and was proceeding to do the same damage to the Church of Cappadocia, expecting to make great gain of the divisions there, and the absence of Basil, and being supported by an army, as Gregory describes it, worthy of such a chief, and ready to commit any atrocity; by bishops without piety, and by governors of provinces without humanity. He tried, indeed, the arts of profane governments, and by promises of protection and preferment, sought to win Basil to his side; but Basil, true to his principles, had been reconciled to Eusebius, and was found at his post, manfully contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, and utterly defeating the godless machinations of Valens, who was, in the words of Gregory, equally distinguished for the love of money and the hatred of Christ, *φιλοχρυσωτατος και μισοχριστοτατος*.

The reconciliation between Basil and his bishop had been effected by Gregory Nazianzen, who first addressed the bishop in a letter, of which the following is a translation:

"I am well aware that in addressing your lordship, I am addressing one who himself hates insincerity, and who has a peculiar skill in detecting it in others, however artfully concealed: and indeed I may say, if you will

pardon the impertinence, I am myself averse to it, both by natural disposition and from Christian education. So let me speak out what is uppermost on my mind, and excuse my freedom. Indeed it would be an injury to me to restrain me and bid me keep my pain to myself, as a sore festering in my heart. Proud as I am of your notice, (for I am a man, as some one says before me,) and of your invitations to religious consultations and meetings, yet I cannot bear your holiness's past and present slight of my most honoured brother Basil, whom I selected from the first, and still possess as my friend, to live with me and study with me, and search with me into the deepest wisdom. I have no need to be dissatisfied with the opinion I have formed of him, and if I do not say more in his praise, it is lest, in enlarging on his admirable qualities, I should seem to be praising myself. Now, your favour towards me, and discountenance of him, is as if a man should stroke one's head with one hand, and with the other strike one's cheek; or decorate a house with paintings and beautify the outside, while he was undermining its foundations. If there is any thing you will grant me, let it be this; and I trust you will, for really it is equitable. He will certainly defer to you, if you do but pay a reasonable deference to him. For myself, I shall come after him as shadows follow bodies, being small, and a lover of quiet. Miserable indeed should we be, if while we were desirous of wisdom in other matters, and to choose the better part, we yet thought little of that grace, which is the end of all our doctrine—charity; especially in the case of one who is our bishop, and so eminent, as we well know, in life, in doctrine, in conversation, and in the government of his diocese; for the truth must be spoken, whatever our private feelings may be."

Gregory at the same time wrote to Basil :

"This time calls upon us to be well-judging in our measures, and to bear patiently what may come upon us :

to surpass in valour the generality of men, and to have a care lest all our past labour and toil should suddenly come to nothing. Now, why do I write thus? It is because our admirable bishop, for such in future we ought to think and call Eusebius, has most friendly and kind feelings towards us, and like steel in the fire is softened by time. I even expect that you will receive a communication from him, with pleasant words, and a summons, as he himself hinted to me, and many of his confidential friends assure me. Let us then anticipate his advances, either by our presence or by writing, or, what would be better still, by first writing and then making our appearance, lest we suffer hereafter a defeat with disgrace, when we might have conquered by a defeat which was honourable and dignified; which, indeed, most men expect of us. Come, then, according to my entreaty, both on this account, and for the times' sake. In truth, the heretical faction is trampling the Church under-foot; some of them are already among us and are at work; others, it is said, will follow soon. Surely there is danger of their sweeping away the word of truth, unless the spirit of our Bezaleel speedily awake, that cunning master-builder of argument and doctrine. If you wish me to be present and to assist in this business, or to be the companion of your journey, I am at your service."

Gregory was not at first successful with Eusebius, but having prevailed with him, he found Basil ready at once to forget as well as to forgive the past, and to act the part of a Christian. "It required," says Gregory, "no long arguments to prevail on him to come to our aid. I it was, who was charged by Eusebius to bear to him the unanimous wish of the people for his return. As soon as he beheld me, without one moment's hesitation, he prepared to quit Pontus immediately, and to follow me; he saw nothing but the fact that the Church was endangered by tyranny; he had no other feeling than the desire to support it, and to devote himself unconditionally to its service."

The reconciliation when it took place was on both sides cordial and sincere: the aged bishop found in the energetic Basil the friend and coadjutor whom his advanced years required: and Basil was as usual successful among the people. "Nothing," says St Gregory in allusion to his conduct at this period, "could equal his zeal and courage, excepting his prudence and profound wisdom; he knew, at once, how to regain the affection of his people, put an end to the disputes which divided even the orthodox, and separate from them those who were inimical to the truth. Every where was he seen joining himself to the strong, supporting the weak, and repulsing their adversaries, who were obliged, at length, to retire, without gaining a single advantage over them."

In the year 368 two awful events occurred in which the character of St Basil displayed itself in the most amiable colours. Drought and famine desolated the whole of Cappadocia: and dreadful as the visitation was every where, it was peculiarly so in Cæsarea, as its distance from the sea prevented the importation of foreign corn. At this juncture the rich were found inclined to speculate on the miseries of their fellow creatures by buying up the provisions that remained, in the hope of making an enormous profit on them as the necessities of the people increased. The energies of St Basil were enthusiastically employed on the part of the poor: he alarmed some by his denunciations, and melted others by his entreaties, and never rested until the poor were fed. Basil, assisted by other benevolent Christians, raised the funds for their support, regulated the distribution of the stores himself, watched over the necessities of the people, and ministered to their spiritual wants at the same time that he provided for the wants of their body.

Is it asked where was the secret by which Basil obtained this wondrous influence over the minds of men? We answer, his preaching was powerful not in words only but more especially in deeds. Emmelia, his mother, was dead. Basil had, therefore, become once more possessed of con-

siderable private property. He again sold his possessions, and it was with the sum thus realized that he provided daily for those who were unable to provide for themselves. He refused none; neither Jew nor heathen was excluded from his bounty; his light shone on the evil and the good, for in such times the question relates not to a man's merits but to his wants. Mention has just been made of the death of St Basil's mother, Emmelia; so that domestic grief was added to public care, and how deeply he felt his loss, he himself declares when in writing to Eusebius of Samosata; he says, "I have lost the first joy of my life,—I have lost my mother. Do not accuse me of weakness in deploring, at my age, this event as lacerating to my heart. Oh! do not condemn me for regretting the removal of a person whose place no other in this world can ever supply to me, and alas! whom no other will ever resemble in my eyes." The Church regarded Emmelia as a saint; and the loss of a saint-like mother is indeed irreparable.

The other event to which allusion has been made as occurring this year was an earthquake which overwhelmed the city of Nice. Among those who were buried in its ruins was Cæsarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen. He had been extricated with difficulty, and had received, as it were, his life from the grave. *The earth trembled and shook, and he was counted as one of them that go down into the pit*, but he was spared; and St Basil, on writing to congratulate him, says, "Oh that we could always retain the sentiments by which we are animated in times of danger and trial;—then it is that we are indeed fully impressed with a conviction of the nothingness of this life, the uncertainty of all worldly things, the folly of those who attach themselves to them: then it is that we deplore our past errors; that we form new resolutions to watch more narrowly over ourselves for the future, and to consecrate ourselves afresh and entirely to the Lord. Such are the sentiments you have no doubt experienced on your late deliverance. Look upon yourself, then, for the future, as a man charged, if ever there was one, with an immense

and most sacred debt. I suggest these considerations to you, with mixed emotions of thankfulness for the past, and solicitude for the future: excuse my frankness. I well remember you used to like me to hold such language as this, with you, and I am willing to flatter myself that it will not at this time find you less disposed to listen to it favourably."

While Basil was devoting all his thoughts and time to the service of the church of Cæsarea, Eusebius died; and his flock was now exposed to the same troubles that infested it at the time of his election. Cæsarea was the most considerable see in the east next to Antioch; the integrity of the faith in that important diocese, and the harmony which reigned among the people, gave the heretics no small uneasiness, and they were now resolved to make a bold push, and to leave no stone unturned in order to get it into their hands. Upon this the clergy of Cæsarea notified their bishop's death to the other prelates in the province, who hastend thither in order to proceed to the election of a successor, and thus to defeat the attempts of the Arians. St Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum, father of St Basil's illustrious friend, was then eighty years old, and sick in bed, and consequently unable to assist in person at the choice of a new bishop. He wrote to the clergy and people of Cæsarea, assuring them that, if it were but barely possible for him to be removed to that city, he would not fail to attend; but, if that was not in his power, he gave them to understand that his vote went for Basil, whom he could not but prefer on this occasion, although he was satisfied there might be several persons truly worthy of that dignity. "He is a man," says that venerable prelate, "of sound doctrine, and pure morals; and the only person, or, at least, the properest, to oppose the heretics, and defend the faith against their assaults." The same prelate sent another letter on the same subject to Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, and although not of the province, begged his assistance in the affair, because it concerned the whole Church. Eusebius went

to Cæsarea; where the Catholics received fresh courage from the presence of one so famous and so much esteemed; which was necessary at that time; for though there could be no dispute about St Basil's superior qualifications, his election was opposed by some of the chief persons in that country; the faction was supported by great numbers of such as are always ready to act with their leaders, and their party seemed so strong that several of the bishops gave in to their measures, imagining they spoke the sense of the whole people. Eusebius undeceived the greatest part of them, and the old bishop of Nazianzum, understanding that Basil still wanted one vote, forgot his age and sickness, was carried in a litter to Cæsarea, and would have thought himself happy had he expired the moment he had concurred to the good work. Thus St Basil was regularly and canonically elected and consecrated on the 14th of June, 370.

Nothing is so difficult for a man in a public station as to act up to the opinion his friends have entertained of him before his promotion. But St Basil came up to their highest expectations. His first care was to soften the minds of such as were exasperated against him, and had been heated with the late intrigues; he gained them so effectually by a noble, ingenuous, and gentle line of conduct without any mixture of flattery, that they were persuaded their salvation could not be safe, while they remained disobedient to this excellent prelate. Thus conquered by generous usage, and convinced of their fault by the conduct of their pastor, they endeavoured to recommend themselves by a virtuous and regular life, which was all that could entitle them to his favour, and convince him of the reality of their repentance. This is the account St Gregory has left us of his friend.

His new dignity was not supported by a large retinue, a splendid table, and magnificent furniture; humility, frugality and mortification were his only ornaments. His servants were reduced to so small a number, that he often wanted persons to copy his writings, carry his letters, and

go on the most necessary messages; and only the poor knew that the revenue of his bishopric was considerable. His whole family was most exactly regular, and no one could be admitted into his house, who was not disposed to conform to the discipline of it. Neither the multiplicity of business, nor his continual infirmities, hindered him from often explaining the Word of God to his people on working days both morning and afternoon; upon which occasion the tradesmen shut up their shops most willingly and hastened to the divine food, without any concern for the loss of their business in the meantime. The ardour his flock shewed augmented the pastor's zeal, which often exceeded his strength; for which reason in one of his homilies he compares himself to a nurse, who has no milk, but is obliged, however, to give her child the breast to keep it from crying. He made frequent visitations of his whole diocese; established ecclesiastical discipline in its primitive rigour; reclaimed several who seemed to be lost to all sense of goodness; and employed both his tongue and pen in laying down excellent rules for every state of life, which are the subject of several of his letters and homilies.

But the difficulties with which St Basil had to contend upon his first entrance upon his office were very great. The state of the Church internally may be surmised from the following letters addressed by St Basil to his suffragans.

“So great is the enormity of the crime which is the subject of this letter, that the very suspicion and report of it pained me deeply. And hitherto I did not believe it could have been committed. So what I shall say about it must be taken as a wholesome medicine by such as are conscious of guilt; by the innocent as a warning; and as a protest by those who stand aloof, though I trust such indifference is not found among you. What am I denouncing? It is reported that some among you receive a price for bestowing ordination, and then give a religious colour to their proceeding. Should this be so, let it cease;

for we are bound to say to him who receives, what the apostles said to him who offered a price for the participation of the Spirit, "Thy money perish with thee !" Indeed, it is a less sin to be ignorant that we cannot buy, than to sell the gift of God. For we sell what we received without price, and so, being sold to Satan, shall certainly lose it. We traffic in things spiritual, even in that Church in which the body and blood of Christ are given us in charge. This must not be.

"The evasion of these persons is as follows. They consider they are clear of the guilt, in that they receive nothing before ordination, but after. But to receive is still to receive, whatever be the time.

"I beseech you turn from this way of gain, or rather, of perdition ; nor by such pollution deprive your hands of the power of celebrating the holy mysteries. Let me speak my purpose. First, I exhort as disbelieving the charge ; next, as if convinced, I threaten. Should any instance occur after this my letter, the offender shall be removed from the altar of his church ; for he makes a gain of the gift of God. We have no such custom, neither the churches of God. I will add one word. The love of money, which has caused this crime, is the root of all evil, and is termed in Scripture idolatry. Prefer not idols to Christ, for a paltry bribe ; nor be as Judas, selling Him afresh who was once for all crucified for us. Surely both the estates, and the hands of those who reap the fruits thereof, shall be called *Aceldama*."

On another occasion he addresses his suffragan bishops in these terms :—

"I am much concerned at the utter disuse, which prevails among us, of the canons of our fathers, and at the banishment of exact discipline from the churches ; and I am apprehensive lest, if this indifference goes further, ecclesiastical affairs will fall into utter confusion. According to the ancient custom of the Church, candidates for its ministry were not admitted without most careful examination.

Diligent inquiry was made into their manner of life, whether they were railers, or drunkards, or quarrelsome, or unable to control their youth, so as to secure that holiness, without which no one shall see the Lord. The presbyters and deacons in their neighbourhood ascertained these points, and reported to the suffragans, who collected their opinions together, and laid them before the bishop : and then the candidate was received. But at present you have deprived me of the right of this report, and have taken the whole authority into your own hands. Next, you have neglected the duty thus undertaken, and have allowed the presbyters and deacons to introduce into the church whom they would, without inquiring into their previous life, from personal liking, either from relationship or other connexion. Hence, many as are the inferior ministers in each town, there is not, perhaps, one fit to be advanced to the ministry of the altar, [i. e., to the priesthood and diaconate,] as, indeed, yourself acknowledge, in the difficulty you find in electing them. Since, then, these irregularities tend to irreparable mischief, especially now, when so many are entering the ministry to avoid conscription for the army, I have felt myself compelled to recur to the canons of our fathers ; and I write to you for a list of the ministers of each town, and by whom each was recommended, and his mode of life. And I wish you to keep lists of your own, which may be checked by those you send me, so that no one may be able to introduce his name of himself. If any should be introduced by presbyters after this arrangement, they are to be put back again into the laity, and undergo an examination afresh. Should they be approved, then let them be re-admitted."

When he was securely seated in the metropolitan see, like a Catholic pastor, he extended his care beyond the boundaries of his own province and applied himself to restoring the peace of the Church, torn to pieces by the Arian faction, and opened a correspondence with the illustrious St Athanasius and the bishops of the west. The following is his letter to St Athanasius :—

“ I suppose there is no one who feels such pain at the present condition, or rather want of condition of the churches, as your grace; comparing, as you naturally must, the present with the past, and considering the difference between them, and the certainty there is, if the evil proceeds at its present pace, that in a short time the churches will altogether lose their present constitution. I have often thought with myself, if the corruption of the churches seems so sad to me, what must be the feelings of one who has witnessed their former stability and unanimity in the faith. And as your holiness has more abundant grief, so one must suppose you have greater anxiety for their welfare. For myself, I have been long of opinion, according to my imperfect understanding of ecclesiastical matters, that there was one way of succouring our churches—viz., the co-operation of the bishops of the west. If they would but show, as regards our part of Christendom, the zeal which they manifested in the case of one or two heretics among themselves, there would be some chance of benefit to our common interests; the civil power would be persuaded by the argument derived from their number, and the laity in each place would follow their lead without hesitation. Now there is no one more able to accomplish this than yourself, from sagacity in counsel, and energy in action, and sympathy for the troubles of the brethren, and the reverence felt by the west for your hoary head. Most reverend father, leave the world some memorial worthy of your former deeds. Crown your former numberless combats for religion with this one additional achievement. Send to the bishops of the west, from your holy church, men powerful in sound doctrine; relate to them our present calamities; suggest to them the mode of relieving us. Be a Samuel to the churches; conduct their flocks harassed by war; offer prayers of peace; ask grace of the Lord, that he may give some token of peace to the churches. I know letters are but feeble instruments to persuade so great a thing; but while you need not to be urged on by others, more than

generous combatants by the acclamation of boys, I, on the other hand, am not as if lecturing the ignorant, but adding speed to the earnest.

“As to the remaining matters of the east, you would perhaps wish the assistance of others, and think it necessary to wait for the arrival of the western bishops. However, there is one Church, the prosperity of which depends entirely on yourself—Antioch. It is in your power so to manage the one party, and to moderate the other, as at length to restore strength to the Church by their union. You know, better than any one can tell you, that, as wise physicians prescribe, it is necessary to begin with treating the more vital matters. Now what can be more vital to Christendom than the welfare of Antioch? If we could but settle the differences there, the head being restored, the whole body would regain health.”

To the bishops of the West he addressed himself also :

“The merciful God, who ever joins comfort to affliction, has lately given me some consolation amid my sorrows, in the letters which our most reverend father, Athanasius, has transmitted to us from your holinesses. Our afflictions are well known without my telling; the sound of them has now gone forth over all Christendom. The doctrines of the fathers are despised; apostolical traditions are set at nought; the speculations of innovators hold sway in the churches. Men have learned to be theorists instead of theologians. The wisdom of the world has the place of honour, having dispossessed the boasting of the cross. The pastors are driven away, grievous wolves are brought in instead, and plunder the flock of Christ. Houses of prayer are destitute of preachers; the deserts are full of mourners: the old bewail, comparing what is with what was; more pitiable are the young, as not knowing what they are deprived of. What has been said is sufficient to kindle the sympathy of those who are taught in the love of Christ, yet compared with the facts, it is far from reaching their seriousness.”

In the second letter, addressed to the bishops of Italy and Gaul, he says :

“The danger is not confined to one church : not two or three only have fallen in with this heavy tempest. Almost from the borders of Illyricum down to the Thebais, this evil of heresy spreads itself. The doctrines of godliness are overturned ; the rules of the Church are in confusion ; the ambition of the unprincipled seizes upon places of authority ; and the chief seat is now openly proposed as a reward for impiety ; so that he whose blasphemies are the more shocking, is more eligible for the oversight of the people. Priestly gravity has perished ; there are none left to feed the Lord’s flock with knowledge ; ambitious men are ever spending in purposes of self-indulgence and bribery, possessions which they hold in trust for the poor. The accurate observance of the canons is no more ; there is no restraint upon sin. Unbelievers laugh at what they see, and the weak are unsettled ; faith is doubtful, ignorance is poured over their souls, because the adulterators of the word in wickedness imitate the truth. Religious people keep silence ; but every blaspheming tongue is let loose. Sacred things are profaned ; those of the laity who are sound in faith avoid the places of worship as schools of impiety, and raise their hands in solitude, with groans and tears, to the Lord in heaven. While then any Christians seem yet to be standing, hasten to us : hasten then to us, our own brothers ; yea, we beseech you. Stretch out your hands and raise us from our knees ; suffer not the half of the world to be swallowed up by error, nor faith to be extinguished in the countries whence it first shone forth. What is most melancholy of all, even the portion among us which seems to be sound, is divided in itself, so that calamities beset us like those which came upon Jerusalem when it was besieged.”

One cannot read these passages without thanking our gracious God for the improved state of things in our own

beloved church of England ; and if, from the oppression of hostile governments, our church is injured and enslaved ; if there be a faction within the pale attempting to deface every feature and lineament of a church among us, still we are not yet in so bad a condition as the church of Antioch, under Valens.

Valens determined, in 372, to take decided and decisive measures against the Catholics, and found in the prefect Modestus a ready instrument for his work. Modestus had been baptized by the Arians, when paganism was the fashion under Julian, he became a pagan, and now under Valens he was again an Arian. By the emperor's directions, this Arian minister commanded St Basil to receive the Arians into communion. Both emperor and minister saw the sound policy of thus healing at once all religious differences : they regarded the points of difference as of no importance ; but the Church was not at that time enslaved to the state, neither were bishops nominees of the minister, and emperor and minister found the Church too powerful for them. The minister of Valens summoned before him the minister of God, and knowing how his own worldly mind would be influenced, he endeavoured first by promises, and then by threats, to prevail on St Basil to yield to the emperor's demands. The colloquy between the bishop and the minister is on record. "What," said the insolent minister, "what is the meaning of this, you Basil, that you dare to resist so great a prince, and, when others yield, are still self-willed." "What would you have me do?" answered Basil ; "What is my extravagance? I have not heard it."

"MODESTUS. You are not worshipping after the emperor's manner, when the rest of your party have given way and been overcome.

"BASIL. I have a Sovereign whose will is otherwise, nor can I bring myself to worship any creature,—I, a creature of God, and commanded to become a partaker of the divine nature.

“MODESTUS. For whom do you take me?

“BASIL. For a thing of nought, while such are your commands.

“MODESTUS. Is it, then, a mere nothing for one like you to have rank like myself, and to have my fellowship.

“BASIL. You are prefect, and in noble place; I own it. Yet God's majesty is greater; and it is much that I am to have your fellowship, for we are both God's creatures. But it is as great to be fellow to any other of my flock, for Christianity lies not in distinction of persons, but in faith.

“The prefect, angered at this, rose from his chair, and abruptly asked Basil if he did not fear his power.

“BASIL. Fear what consequences? what sufferings?

“MODESTUS. One of those many pains a prefect can inflict.

“BASIL. Let me know them.

“MODESTUS. Confiscation, exile, tortures, death.

“BASIL. Think of some other threat. These have no influence upon me. He runs no risk of confiscation who has nothing to lose, except these mean garments and a few books. Nor does he care for exile, who is not circumscribed by place, who makes it not a home where he now dwells, but everywhere a home whithersoever he be cast, or rather everywhere God's home, whose pilgrim he is and wanderer. Nor can tortures harm a frame so frail as to break under the first blow. You could but strike once, and death would be gain. It would but send me the sooner to Him for whom I live and labour, nay, am dead rather than live, to whom I have long been journeying.

“MODESTUS. No one yet ever spoke to Modestus with such freedom.

“BASIL. Peradventure Modestus never yet fell in with a bishop; or surely in a like trial he would have heard like language. O prefect, in other things we are gentle, and more humble than all men living, for such is the commandment; so as not to raise our brow, I say not

against 'so great a prince,' but even against one of least account. But when God's honour is at stake, we think of nothing else, looking simply to Him. Fire and the sword, beasts of prey, irons to rend the flesh, are an indulgence rather than a terror to a Christian. Therefore insult, threaten, do your worst, make the most of your power. Let the emperor be informed of my purpose. Me you gain not, you persuade not, to an impious creed, by menaces, even more frightful."

After this conversation, the prefect felt convinced that no arguments he could use would be of sufficient force to subdue such heroic courage; he therefore suffered Basil to depart, and could not refrain, in taking leave of him, from testifying his respect for his principles. On his return to the emperor, "Prince," said he to him, "we are vanquished: the bishop of Cæsarea is one of those men whom threats cannot terrify, arguments convince, or promises seduce." The emperor was wise enough to forbear from violence towards such an adversary, and, perhaps, generous enough to admire the very integrity he had hoped to corrupt; Basil was therefore left in peace, as far as his own personal safety, and that of the people immediately under his care was concerned.

Valens even went further; he attended the church accompanied by his court, on the feast of Epiphany, and heard Basil preach. And he was deeply affected by what he saw and heard; by the solemnity of the psalms, chanted antiphonally, by the reverence, devotion, and order which prevailed in the congregation, as well as by the sermon of Basil. The holy bishop standing at the altar, fixed in his great ministry, and his mind entirely taken up with the God he adored, and all who attended him full of reverence and respect, was a glorious sight, and inspired in him such awe for the service of God, and such a respect for our great prelate, that when he was to carry his offering to the holy table, he trembled so violently that he must have fallen, had not one of the ministers of the altar supported

him. This offering, as we learn from St Gregory Nazianzen's account, was bread which every communicant made with his own hands, and was consecrated in the holy mysteries.

This was not the only time that Valens appeared at church. He one day went within the veil, into what some suppose to have been the vestry, others the enclosure of the altar, where the emperors were admitted, according to the custom of the eastern churches. That prince had been long desirous of conversing with St Basil, and took this opportunity of enjoying that pleasure. Their discourse turned on matters of faith; St Gregory Nazianzen, who made one at the conference, assures us that the principal officers of the court, who were present on that occasion, were obliged to own that Basil talked divinely; and Theodoret, after giving us the same account, tells us the emperor was so well pleased with his discourse, that he became more gentle to the Catholics, and gave a good estate in that neighbourhood for the relief of lepers, of whom the holy bishop took care, and afterwards erected an hospital for their reception.

Basil, though so firm in principle, was at the same time a conciliator, and finding that many of the semi-arians were orthodox in fact, though not in form, he dealt so gently with them, that he had at one time to defend himself from the charge of being one of the number. [See the life of Basil of Ancyra, *infra*.] This he could easily do, though his attachment to Eustathius, whom he refused to denounce, until proof of his guilt became too apparent to be denied, involved him in much trouble. Eustathius, of Sebaste, a finished hypocrite, had been the friend and companion of St Basil, on his first retirement to Pontus: the form which the fanaticism of the age assumed was that of asceticism, and, won by the assumed asceticism of Eustathius, St Basil gave him his friendship, although his integrity was suspected by almost every one else. In 372 or 373 the eyes of Basil were opened, but it was only by degrees; such was the firmness of his friendship.

He was invited by Theodotus, bishop of Nicopolis, in Little Armenia, to a council, in which the conduct and principles of Eustathius were to be considered; as Sebaste was situated within the province of Theodotus, and Theodotus had refused communion with Eustathius as an Arian. St Basil, like a true friend, determined first to have an interview with Eustathius, who satisfied him of his orthodoxy. Theodotus, in consequence, revoked the invitation he had sent to Basil, and Basil meekly, and without resenting the insult, returned to Cæsarea. He still continued, notwithstanding the injury his own character sustained by his conduct, to defend Eustathius, and in order to satisfy the Armenian bishops of his orthodoxy, he undertook to make him sign an orthodox confession, containing the Nicene creed, and condemning not only the Arian heresy, but the heresies also of Marcellus and Sabellius. Eustathius signed the confession, and in order to acquit him, St Basil, in the zeal of his friendship, called a synod of the bishops of Cappadocia and Armenia; when the assembled prelates were perhaps less astonished than Basil, to hear that Eustathius had revoked his subscription. He had been tampered with by the court; he thought that Valens was more likely to be a good patron than Basil; and becoming a supporter of government, though the government was hostile to the Church, he declaimed with fury against the Catholics in general, and especially against Basil, who did not condescend to enter into controversy with him, but considered the calumnies of Eustathius to be sufficiently refuted by the comparison which all who knew them both were capable of instituting between the conduct and the characters of the two men.

But in one instance he was obliged to come forward in defence not of himself but of his church. Eustathius, by his intrigues, caused the separation of a portion of the coast of Pontus from the church of Cæsarea, and St Basil addressed an expostulation to the separatists: "Hitherto," he wrote, "I have lived in much

affliction and grief, ever reflecting that you are wanting to me. For when God tells me,—even God who became incarnate for the very purpose that by patterns of duty, He might regulate our life, and might by His own voice announce to us the gospel of the kingdom—when He, even God saith, ‘By this shall men know that ye are My disciples, if ye love one another;’ and whereas the Lord left His true peace to His disciples as a favourite gift, when about to complete the dispensation in the flesh, saying, “Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you,” I cannot persuade myself that without love to others, and without, as far as rests with me, peaceableness towards all, I can be called a worthy servant of Jesus Christ. I have waited a long while for the chance of your love paying us a visit. For ye are not ignorant that we, being exposed to all, as rocks running out into the sea, sustain the fury of the heretical waves, which, in that they break around us, do not cover the district behind. I say ‘we,’ in order to refer it, not to human power, but to the grace of God, who, by the weakness of men shows His power, as says the prophet in the person of the Lord, ‘Will ye not fear Me, who have placed the sand as a boundary to the sea?’ for by the weakest and most contemptible of all things, the sand, the Mighty One has bounded the great and full sea. Since, then, this is our position, it became your love to be frequent in sending true brothers, to visit us who labour in the storm, and more frequently letters of love, partly to confirm our courage, partly to correct any mistake of ours. For we confess that we are liable to numberless mistakes, being men, and living in the flesh.

“Let not this consideration influence you. ‘We dwell on the sea, we are exempt from the sufferings of the generality, we need no succour from others; so what is the good to us of foreign communion?’ For the same Lord who divided the islands from the continent by the sea, bound the island Christians to the continental by love.

Nothing, brethren, separates us from each other, but deliberate estrangement. We have one Lord, one faith, the same hope. The hands need each other; the feet steady each other. The eyes possess their clear apprehension from agreement. We, for our part, confess our own weakness, and we seek your fellow-feeling. For we are assured, that though ye are not present in body, yet by the aid of prayer, ye will do us much benefit in these most critical times. It is neither decorous before men, nor pleasing to God, that you should make avowals which not even the gentiles adopt, which know not God. Even they, as we hear, though the country they live in be sufficient for all things, yet, on account of the uncertainty of the future, make much of alliances with each other, and seek mutual intercourse as being advantageous to them. Yet we, the sons of fathers who have laid down the law, that by brief notes the proofs of communion should be carried about from one end of the earth to the other, and that all should be citizens and familiars with all, now sever ourselves from the whole world, and are neither ashamed at our solitariness, nor shudder that on us is fallen the fearful prophecy of the Lord, ‘Because of lawlessness abounding, the love of the many shall wax cold.’ ”

Although we know not what effect this striking epistle had upon the separatists, it is given here as illustrative of St Basil's character; a peculiarity of which displayed itself in his conduct towards Gregory Nazianzen. There is a jealousy in friendship which is apt to evince itself when of two friends who lived on terms of equality, one is advanced to a high station. And in Gregory's sensitive nature this was to be expected. Soon after Basil's appointment to the exarchate, Basil seems to have been annoyed at Gregory's keeping aloof from him, and Gregory seems to have kept aloof, thinking that Basil ought to have pressed his attendance. We suspect the existence of some such almost unconscious sensitiveness on the part of Gregory, though doubtless he was sincere in

stating that the reason of his staying away, was a feeling of delicacy lest his friend should appear to be collecting partizans about him. When Gregory *did* visit St Basil, though he was received with every mark of attention and respect, he did not remain long in Cæsarea, and in their subsequent correspondence there appears to have been a little *touchiness* on both sides. These mutual heart-burnings ended at last in a quarrel, under the circumstances about to be related.

The province of Cappadocia was found to be too large for one civil magistrate, and being divided into two, the two provinces had Cæsarea and Tyana for their respective capitals. Anthemus, the bishop of Tyana, immediately made the attempt to erect his city into a metropolitan see, and thus to sever half the province from the archbishop of Cæsarea. Hence a controversy ensued; on the one side was Basil and justice, on the other the arianizing bishops, and all the low church party who had opposed the election of Basil. On this occasion Gregory offered his assistance to his friend, though not without a hint that there had been mismanagement on the side of Basil. "I will come to you," wrote Gregory, "if you wish it; if so be, to advise with you, if the sea wants water, or you a counsellor; at all events, to gain benefit and act the philosopher, by bearing ill usage in your company."

Gregory accordingly attended Basil in his visitation of the second Cappadocia; and when the archbishop determined on the erection of certain new bishoprics in the district, and appointed Gregory to that of Sasima, Basil thought much of the Church and too little of his friend. He thought that Gregory could not be more usefully employed than in the superintendence of the church of Sasima, and therefore, without regard to his feelings, he immediately placed him there. Whereas Gregory was thinking chiefly of his friend, and only came into Cappadocia that he might be near to him, have frequent

intercourse with him, and become his adviser. When he found that Basil acted as if he disregarded him as a counsellor and seemed to make light of his friendship, his sensitive nature was deeply wounded. He wrote a very indignant letter on the subject to Basil; and although Gregory, to use a common expression, "lost himself" on the occasion, by thinking more highly of himself than a Christian man ought to do, yet certainly it does seem that Basil might have found an inferior man better qualified for the situation at Sasima, than the sensitive Gregory, who, writing with some heat, exclaimed: "Give me peace and quiet above all things. Why should I be fighting for sucklings and birds, which are not mine, as if in a matter of souls and church rules? Well, play the man, be strong, turn every thing to your own glory, as rivers suck up the mountain rill, thinking little of friendship or intimacy, compared with high aims and piety, and disregarding what the world will think of you for all this, being the property of the Spirit alone; while, on my part, so much shall I gain from this your friendship, not to trust in friends, nor to put anything above God."

We conclude our reference to this unhappy dispute, with a remark, which in effect we made before, that all the ardour of friendship was on the side of Gregory, and that he received in return from Basil, the respect and esteem which such attachment and so much virtue could not fail to conciliate, rather than that enthusiastic admiration and warmth of affection, in which true friendship consists. The estrangement was not of long duration, though to the last, even when apologizing for his friend after his death, for this very transaction, the wounded feelings of Gregory betrayed themselves.

We have alluded already to a grant of land which St Basil obtained from Valens, and many other grants he obtained from the wealthy and the noble, thinking that he benefited them by whatever he could draw from their superfluous stores, for the good of the poor. With funds

thus collected, he accomplished one of the noblest undertakings ever planned by human benevolence, the Ptochotropheion, called also, the Basileias, an hospital, and workhouse combined, which Gregory describes in the following terms. This "new town, raised on the confines of the old, was open to every description of human misery and necessity; in it, all the infirmities and accidents to which our material nature is liable were carefully attended to; medical attendants, nurses, guides for the blind, the crippled, and the aged, were attached to it: and, in the true spirit of Christian charity, spacious apartments were added expressly for the lepers, who, till then chased from place to place, and even driven out of all human haunts, found there the attentions and solace which their peculiar affliction so earnestly called for. Here, likewise, strangers were received with brotherly cordiality, and treated with liberal though simple hospitality. Careful, at the same time, that a charity meant for the amelioration of the human race should in no way be suffered to minister to its corruptions, Basil provided spacious rooms and workshops for different handicrafts and mechanical occupations, where all who were desirous of employment could obtain it: and where those who might be able were required to add their quota, towards the funds of which they were reaping the benefits; for he knew the human heart too well not to dread the evils of idleness; aware that nothing injures moral integrity so soon as a willingness to live in a state of indolence, dependent on the exertion of others. "Happy is he who supports his neighbour," says St Ambrose; "but woe unto him who needlessly allows his neighbour to support him."

This appears to be a model for an infirmary and a workhouse.

The health of Basil, always delicate, had become very bad in the year 373, and so continued till his death: nevertheless, in 374 he commenced his celebrated work, *De Spiritu Sancto*; and in 376 was roused to publish a

circular, in reply to the calumnies of Eustathius. To his ill health we may attribute the reserve, and as we should say, *nervousness*, of which he has been sometimes accused by his enemies, and which was regarded by some after his elevation, as a sign of pride. But, as Gregory asks, "Is it possible for a man to embrace lepers, abasing himself so far, and yet be supercilious towards those in health?"

At length, worn out by the austerities of his life, the ardour of his zeal, the extent of his labors, and the repeated attacks of his disorder, this great man found his end approaching. He called his friends and disciples around him, and having blessed them, and commended them to God, he made such arrangements as he thought necessary for the Church militant, ere his spirit passed unto the Church triumphant, and having conjured them with his dying breath, to hold fast the faith, to be unwearied in well-doing, and to love one another, he departed this life, calmly saying, "Lord Jesus, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

His death occurred on the first of January, 379; and never was a death more universally lamented: all persons, even jews and heathens, went forth to honour his remains as his body was carried to the grave: and his funeral, from the prodigious concourse of people that attended it, including almost all the most dignified persons in the country, afforded an extraordinary contrast to the poverty and simplicity of his own habits during life.

The Benedictine edition of St Basil was edited by Julian Garnier, and was published at Paris, in folio, in 1721, 1722, and 1730. The Basil edition was published in 1551, and another folio edition in 1638.—*Life of Basil, in third volume of Benedictine edition. Basilii Opera. Gregor. Nazian. Cave. Church of the Fathers. Fleury. Tillemont.*

BASIL. The friend and fellow-student of St Chrysostom, of whom all that is known is to be gathered from the

following passage from the first book of St Chrysostom de Sacerdotio ; that book being the record of certain conversations between St Chrysostom and the subject of the present article :

“ He was one of my constant companions ; we pursued the same sciences, attended the same instructors ; the same purposes in learning, the same care was common to both, and to both, from like matters, like desires arose. Nor was this only while we were under discipline, but also when freed from it it behoved us to consider what course in life was most worthy to be chosen—even then we held the same opinion.

“ There were other things also which preserved unbroken this unanimity. Neither of us could boast himself above the other on account of distinction of country : I had no great hope of fortune—he was oppressed by extreme poverty. The similarity of our fortunes kept pace with our intentions ; our families were of equal rank ; and in all things we corresponded in our wishes.

“ When, however, the time approached for this blessed man to embrace the monastic life and the true philosophy, then the balance lost its equilibrium—his scale, from its lightness, mounted upward ; whilst I, then entangled by worldly desires, depressed mine overloaded with youthful fancies. Even here our friendship was as firm as ever, but our intimacy was interrupted ; nor can it exist between those who are not united by the same pursuits. Yet, when I raised my head a little from out the waves of this life, he seized me with both his hands ; but we could no longer regain our former equality. He had outstripped me in time, and by unremitting application had soared far beyond me. So kind was he, and so highly did he estimate my friendship that, withdrawing himself from all intercourse with others, he passed all his time with me, which, as I have said, was previously his wish, but had been prevented by my indifference. Nor was it possible for any one who attended the courts of justice, and who pursued

scenic entertainments, to be intimate with another who devoted himself to books and never approached the forum. For this reason, in spite of all former repulse, that he might allure me to the same course of life with himself, the desire that he had long laboured with, he quickly gave birth to ; and suffering no part of the day to be spent away from me, he assiduously advised our leaving our homes, and passing our lives together. He gained my consent, and thus the matter stood. But the endearments of an anxious mother opposed my granting him this favour, or rather, my accepting this kindness from him.

“ While matters stood thus between us—he frequently importuning, I in my turn refusing—a rumour newly risen disturbed us both: it was reported that we were about to be promoted to the episcopal dignity. When I heard this I was struck at once with fear and perplexity: with fear, lest I should be taken against my will; with perplexity, when I strove to discover by what means it had entered mens’ minds to think of a matter of this nature for us. For when I examined myself, I found no sufficient cause for such an honour. But my generous friend, coming to me privately, mentioned the rumour to me, as if I were ignorant of it, and begged we might here seem as unanimous as before in our designs and actions. As for him, he was prepared to follow the course I might adopt, whether rejection or acceptance of the office. Having perceived therefore in him so ready an inclination, and having considered, that if through my infirmity I deprived the flock of Christ of so good a mind, and one so qualified to guide it, I should do an injury to the whole church community, I concealed the opinion I held, though I had never before suffered any of my designs to be hidden from him; but telling him it were better to defer our consideration of this subject to another time, (nor was it in truth an urgent matter) I soon persuaded him to think no more about it; as far as I was concerned, I assured him, if the thing should come to pass, he might rely on my concurrence. After no great

length of time, as the day for the imposition of hands drew nigh, I concealed myself unknown to him: my friend, led on by some other pretence, received ordination, relying on my promises of following him, or rather he hoping to follow me. Some of those who were present witnessing his uneasiness at being thus caught, misled him by declaring, that it was absurd that he who in all things appeared to be the bolder of the two, (meaning me) should yield with so much modesty to the determination of the fathers; and that he, usually the milder and the more prudent, should be so confident and vain as to resist it. He yielded to these remonstrances: but when he heard that I had fled purposely, he approached me with shame and sorrow; he seated himself near me, and strove to give utterance to something. But his grief prevented him; nor could he summon courage to utter a word, his anguish of mind cutting off all he intended to say before it had passed his lips. When, however, I saw him so bedewed with tears and troubled, knowing the cause, I smiled with delight, and seizing his hand, made an effort to salute him; glorifying God, who gave me that favourable issue to my stratagem, for which I had always prayed."

In the Benedictine edition of St Chrysostom, this Basil is supposed to have been bishop of Rappanea, near Antioch, a prelate who was present at the council of Constantinople, in 381. Dupin cannot decide whether this conjecture or another, that he was a bishop of Byblos, in Phœnicia, be the most probable.—*Chrysostom, de Sacerdotio.*

BASIL, of Ancyra. Of the personal history of this Basil little is known; he was one of the leaders of the Semi-arian party which existed in the Church during the fourth century. On referring to the life of Arius, the reader will perceive what the Arian doctrines are, and that the heresiarch received the countenance of a party headed by Eusebius, and thence frequently styled Euse-

bians. These persons were more anxious to maintain a party than to establish a dogma, or rather the Arian dogma was valued by them as the distinction of their party, and they were willing to modify or explain their dogma, according to circumstances: they were especially desirous of conciliating the Latins, and endeavoured to persuade them that the difference between themselves and the orthodox was chiefly verbal, and relating to the word Homo-ousion. They had in consequence admitted the use of the term Homoi-ousion, by which it was asserted that the Son was of a like nature with the Father. But although the leaders were influenced merely by party feelings, those who were brought into the vortex of the party by the circumstances under which they were placed, and were honest in heart, received the dogma as a reality, and perplexed the party leaders by binding them down to the real import of those words, which had originally been chosen as mere evasions of orthodoxy. The Homoi-ousion being thus received, many persons were found to explain it almost in the orthodox sense; their dispute with the Catholics *did* in many instances become little more than verbal, and hence they were dealt with gently by such men as St Basil the great. The Semi-arians were found to be as strongly opposed to the pure Arians, as those who accepted the Nicene test. Thus was the word, first invented as an evasion by the Arians, used as a test against them by the Semi-arians, who merely refused to accept the Homo-ousion because they imagined that it implied an approach to Sabellianism. But although the Semi-arians repudiated the evasion of the Eusebians or pure Arians, that the word *Son* had but a secondary sense, and that our Lord was in reality a creature, though not like other creatures; nevertheless, when they formed a distinct party, their creed was condemned by the orthodox, as involving those contradictions in terms, which the Nicene doctrine escapes: the Semi-arians maintained against the Arians that the Son was born before all time, and yet they con-

tended against the Catholics that He was not eternal : in opposition to the Arians they asserted that He was not a creature, and yet they refused to assent to the Catholic truth that He is God : they affirmed Him to be of His substance, so again opposing the Arians,—yet not of the *same* substance, and thus rejecting the Homo-ousion. Thus they tried to hold the *via media* in the controversy, and in so doing were led into these contradictions, which were gradually discovered by the more earnest-minded among them, and led them to embrace the Catholic truth.

The Semi-arians seem in fact to have consisted of the really religious men who were at first involved in the Arian faction ; and Semi-arianism, with its contradictory propositions, was the first step towards a return to orthodoxy.

Such was the party of which Basil of Ancyra was one. He was a native of Ancyra, and of that see he was made bishop by the Eusebian council of Constantinople, in 336, when Marcellus was deposed.

Marcellus had been an energetic defender of the Catholic faith at Nice, but in defending the truth he afterwards approached the very verge of Sabellianism, having contended that the Logos was the eternal wisdom of God, and could be called the Son of God only whilst dwelling in the human form. He, nevertheless, so explained his positions as to maintain or recover his orthodoxy, which was acknowledged by Julius, bishop of Rome, by St Athanasius, and by the council of Sardica ; although on the other hand, later Catholic Fathers, Basil the great, St Chrysostom, and others, condemn him. Against him Basil employed his pen, in a work which has been lost. But whatever was the character of the doctrine taught by Marcellus, his pupil, Photinus, bishop of Smyrna, taught Sabellianism without disguise, and was condemned, not only by the Eusebians at the council of Antioch, in 343, but even by the western church, at a council held at Milan, in 346. At the first council of Sirmium, in 351, he met a formidable opponent in Basil ; a disputation

being carried on between them in the presence of Constantius. Photinus was formally deprived of his bishopric.

Basil, having thus attacked a heresy in the one extreme, encountered the opposite heresy at the second synod of Sirmium, in 357, where the pure Arians first met with an organized opposition from a section of their own party. The pure Arians were in this synod the stronger party, and rejected every form of the Homi-ousion doctrine. They were henceforth known by the name of Anomæans, persons who held the Son to be unlike the Father,—adopting the notions of Arius without any variation. Basil, to oppose them, assembled a synod at Ancyra, in 358, at which the Semi-arian doctrine was confirmed and the Arian rejected. Through the persuasive eloquence of Basil, the emperor Constantius was led to unite himself with the Semi-arian party, and a third synod at Sirmium, in 358, rejected the confession of faith adopted at the second, and confirmed the anathemas of the synod of Ancyra. From this time the strife between the Arians and Semi-arians was incessant, and the faction destroyed itself, while Catholic truth was every where gaining ground.

Basil used all his influence with the emperor to obtain the convocation of an œcumenical council, but counter influence was used by the Eusebians, under Acacius, of Cæsarea, and the intrigues on both sides ended in the meeting of a double council, one at Seleucia, and the other at Ariminum; the first for the prelates of the east, and the other for those of the west. Although the council of Seleucia had sanctioned the Semi-arian creed, Constantius was persuaded by deputies from both councils, and by the influence of Acacius, to believe that Basil was the sole impediment to the peace of the Church. He summoned a council of neighbouring bishops, chiefly those of Bithynia: various charges of a civil and ecclesiastical nature were here alleged against Basil and other Semi-arians, with what degree of truth it is impossible at

this day to determine, and sentence of deposition was pronounced against them. This was in the year 360.

Of Basil nothing more is heard except that he presented a petition for restitution to the orthodox emperor Jovian, in 364, without success. He probably died in exile.—*Maimbourg. Newman. Fleury. Guiseler. Lardner.*

BASIL, Martyr and Saint, was a priest of Ancyra, and a contemporary of the bishop, to whom the preceding article refers. He distinguished himself by his orthodoxy when the court was Arian, and was suspended from his priestly functions by the Arian council of Constantinople, in 360.

When Julian the apostate re-established idolatry, and left no means untried to pervert the faithful, Basil ran through the whole city, exhorting the Christians to continue stedfast, and not pollute themselves with the sacrifices and libations of the heathens, but fight manfully in the cause of God. The heathens laid violent hands on him, and dragged him before Saturninus, the proconsul, accusing him of sedition, of having overturned altars, that he stirred up the people against the gods, and had spoken irreverently of the emperor and his religion. The proconsul asked him if the religion which the emperor had established was not the truth? The martyr answered: 'Can you yourself believe it? Can any man endued with reason persuade himself that dumb statues are gods?' The proconsul commanded him to be tortured on the rack, and scoffing, said to him, under his torments: 'Do not you believe the power of the emperor to be great, who can punish those who disobey him? Experience is an excellent master, and will inform you better. Obey the emperor, worship the gods, and offer sacrifice.' The martyr, who prayed during his torments, with great earnestness, replied: 'It is what I never will do.' The proconsul remanded him to prison, and informed his master Julian of what he had done. The emperor

approved of his proceedings, and dispatched Elpidius and Pegasus, two apostate courtiers, in quality of commissaries, to assist the proconsul in the trial of the prisoner. They took with them from Nicomedia one Asclepius, a wicked priest of Esculapius, and arrived at Ancyra. Basil did not cease to praise and glorify God in his dungeon, and Pegasus repaired thither to him, in hopes by promises and intreaties, to work him into compliance : but he came back to the proconsul highly offended at the liberty with which the martyr had reproached him with his apostacy. At the request of the commissaries, the proconsul ordered him to be again brought before them, and tormented on the rack with greater cruelty than before ; and afterwards to be loaded with the heaviest irons, and lodged in the deepest dungeon.

When Julian arrived at Ancyra, he put Basil to death, under circumstances of peculiar horror, commanding his skin to be torn off in several places. This happened in 362. Alban Butler concludes his notice of this saint with the following observations :

“ The love of God, which triumphed in the breasts of the martyrs, made them regard as nothing whatever labours, losses, or torments, they suffered for its sake, according to that of the canticles : *If a man shall have given all that he possesses, he will despise it as nothing.* If the sacrifice of worldly honours, goods, friends, and life, be required of such a one, he makes it with joy, saying with the royal prophet, *What have I desired in heaven, or on earth, besides Thee, O God ! Thou art my portion for ever.* If he lives deprived of consolation, and joy, in interior desolation and spiritual dryness, he is content to bear his cross, provided he be united to his God by love, and says, my God and my all, if I possess You, I have all things in You alone : whatever happens to me, with the treasure of Your love I am rich and sovereignly happy. This he repeats in poverty, disgraces, afflictions, and persecutions. He rejoices in them, as by them he is more closely united to his God, gives the strongest proof

of His fidelity to him, and perfect submission to His divine appointments, and adores the accomplishment of His will. If it be the property of true love, to receive crosses with content and joy, to sustain great labours, and think them small, or rather not to think of them at all, as they bear no proportion to the prize, to what we owe to God, or to what His love deserves: to suffer much, and think all nothing, and the longest and severest trials short: is it not a mark of a want of this love, to complain of prayer, fasts, and every Christian duty? How far is this disposition from the fervour and resolution of all the saints, and from the heroic courage of the martyrs?"—*Alban Butler*.

BASIL, archbishop of Seleucia, a city of Isauria, flourished in the time of the Eutychian controversy, or the middle of the fifth century. He was present at the council of Constantinople in 448, and then he joined in the condemnation of Eutyches and his heresy. But in the council of Ephesus, under Dioscorus, in 449, he joined in the condemnation of Flavian and of the Catholic faith. He returned to orthodoxy, and apologized for his conduct at the council of Chalcedon, in 451. From this it would appear that he was not a man of very fixed principles. His works are numerous, and still extant. An account of them is given by Dupin, but they do not appear to be of much importance. Photinus speaks of him as an imitator of St Chrysostom, but Dupin remarks that the homilies of the celebrated patriarch of Constantinople consist of two parts; in the first he explains Scripture according to the letter, and joins to it some moral reflections; in the second, St Chrysostom takes in hand some moral doctrine, which he treats of at considerable length. Basil of Seleucia meddles not with the last part, but contents himself with imitating the first.—*Dupin. Tillemont. Cave*.

BASILIDES. A gnostic, whose native land was Syria, or a province more to the east; according to Tillemont he left the Church in the time of Trajan, and appeared chiefly in the time of Adrian. Basnage represents him as flourishing in the year 121; Mill, in the year 123; Cave, in 112, or soon after. He certainly lived near the time of the Apostles, and we are told by Clement, of Alexandria, that Basilides, or his followers, boasted that he had been taught by Glaucias, a disciple of St Peter. Theodoret says that Menander was his master.

The following is the account of his heresy given by St Irenæus :

“Basilides taught that from the self-existent Father was born Nous or Understanding; of Nous, Logos; of Logos, Phronesis, Prudence or Providence; of Phronesis, Sophia and Dunamis, Wisdom and Power; of Dunamis and Sophia, Powers, Principalities, and Angels, whom they call the superior angels, by whom the first heaven was made; from these proceeded other angels and other heavens, to the number of 365, both angels and heavens; and therefore there are so many days in the year answerable to the number of the heavens. Farther they say that the angels which uphold the lower heaven, seen by us, made all things in this world, and then divided the earth among themselves. And the chief of these, they say, is he who is thought to be the God of the jews. And because he would bring other nations into subjection to the jews, the other princes opposed him, and other nations opposed that people. But the self-existent and ineffable Father seeing them in danger of being ruined, sent his first begotten Nous, who also is said to be Christ, for the salvation of such as believe in Him, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the makers of the world; and that He appeared on earth as man and wrought miracles; but He did not suffer: for Simon of Cyrene being compelled to bear the cross, was crucified for Him; he was transformed into the likeness of Jesus, and Jesus took the

shape of Simon, and stood by looking on, and laughing at the error and ignorance of those who thought they had Him in their power; after which He ascended to heaven. They who understand these things are to be delivered from the princes of this world. They also hold that men ought not to confess him who was crucified, but Him who came in the form of man, and was supposed to be crucified, and was called Jesus, and was sent of the Father, that by this dispensation He might destroy the works of the makers of the world. He likewise taught that the soul only would be saved, for the body is in its own nature corruptible, and incapable of immortality. He moreover says that the prophecies are from the princes, makers of the world, and that the law was given by the chief of them who brought the people out of the land of Ægypt. They make light of things offered to idols, and partake of them without scruple. And all other actions, and all kinds of lewdness, are looked upon by them as indifferent. They practice magic also, and incantations. They have distributed the local positions of the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, just as the mathematicians do. For they have adopted their theorems, and introduced them into their scheme; the prince of which they call Abraxas. that name having in it the number three hundred and sixty-five."

It is probable that Basilides did not die before the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius.—*Irenæus*. Fragments of his writings occur in *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Epiphanius*. *Lardner*.

BASIRE, ISAAC DE PREAUMONT, was born at Rouen, in Normandy, 1607. In 1623 he was sent to the college at Rotterdam, his parents being protestants. Of his early years nothing is known; but he came to England, and, having been received into the Church, was ordained by Morton, bishop of Lichfield, in the year 1629, and thenceforward he adopted England as his country. We find him in 1631 filling the office of chaplain

to bishop Morton, at Eccleshall castle; his letters of naturalization are dated the year following. In 1632 Morton was translated to Durham, and there, as well as at Auckland, he had the honour to entertain king Charles the martyr; and there, too, Basire first learned to feel a personal regard, in addition to his loyal feelings, for that prince. Basire was at this time a hard student, as in writing to Vossius he tells him that he is studying the Greek fathers, "whose writings he holds as only inferior in authority to the holy scriptures." In 1635 he was married to Miss Corbet, a lady of good family in Shropshire. His letters to this lady, and to other persons at this period of his life, shew the deep abiding piety of his heart. The reader of the correspondence is struck particularly with the real comfort which Basire and his friends derived from their faith in the efficacy of intercessory prayer. He was frequently applied to by his friends to assist them in their charitable designs, and was never appealed to in vain. One letter, from Nathaniel Ward, vicar of Staindross, who afterwards died fighting for his king and country against the rebels, is interesting, as giving a picture of the times.

"A report has probably reached you of the fire, which broke out in my parish last Friday, about three o'clock in the morning, and in a very short space of time completely destroyed the cottages of three families, and reduced to ashes fourteen large stacks of corn. Two of the persons who have suffered this heavy loss are papists, plunged in the deepest mire of superstition, whom I have often tried in vain to recal to more just views of religion: but enough remains for them to live comfortably. The third, who is much poorer than the others, is an honest pious man, who about eight weeks since deserted the camp of the papists, and took refuge in our Catholic Church. He has two infant sons, and an excellent wife, who, when a servant, could never be induced to swerve from the true faith by the threats of her masters, and since she was married has in like manner resisted the attempts of her

husband to convert her. She expects her confinement soon after Christmas ; but her clothes, beds, and bedding, all her furniture, and every thing she had prepared for her lying-in, have been consumed by the fire ; so that I have been obliged to take the man and his family into my own house, till God above shall look down in mercy, and raise up friends to relieve him in his extreme want and misery. The man's name is Francis Laifield. I begged a little charity for him yesterday ; and yet, though my flock have given proof of the most benevolent feelings, I could not collect enough to procure necessaries for this poor fellow and his pregnant wife. If therefore you have no objection, I wish you would lay their wants next Sunday before your congregation, and extort alms from them in the name of Christ. For the man is now deserted by the papists, because he has come back to us—otherwise, they give out that they would have made up his losses with interest. I hope, nay I almost feel, that God will graciously give this man such favour in the eyes of other people, that he will not stand in need of assistance from the papists, nor ever have reason to regret that he has bid adieu to Egypt, and sheltered himself in our holy land. If you collect any thing for him, you may send it by the steward, or by your servant, to Anthony Miller ; and I shall employ some faithful messenger to demand your benevolence of him, at the first opportunity which offers. I shall feel extremely obliged to you if you will comply with my request, and be assured that I shall endeavour, as far as in my power, to return your kindness. Farewell, and pray for me. Be so good as to write, and let me know whether your wife has yet been confined. God preserve her from all danger under the shadow of His wings."

In 1636 the degree of B.D. was conferred upon him by the university of Cambridge, in compliance with the king's mandate, and in the course of the same year he was presented by the bishop of Durham to the living of

Egglescliffe, in that county. In 1640 he took his degree of D.D., and in 1641 he was sworn chaplain extraordinary to Charles I. and was thus led to an occasional attendance at the court at Whitehall, at a time when the king needed to be surrounded by loyal subjects; for the presbyterian leaven was spreading destructively through England, and the London petition had been presented, calling for a total change of religion, and overthrow of the Church, signed by 16,000 persons.

On the 12th of December, 1643, Dr Basire was collated to the 7th stall in Durham, by his patron bishop Morton, and in the August following he was appointed archdeacon of Northumberland. These appointments, as Mr Darnell observes, however complimentary to Basire, were merely nominal, the progress of the civil war having placed the duties and the emoluments of such offices alike in abeyance. Two years after, he is understood to have been besieged eleven months in Carlisle. Hutchinson states that the city underwent a close blockade, and that the inhabitants suffered much for want of food. Horses, dogs, and rats, were eaten; and hempseed substituted for bread as long as the siege lasted.

In 1645 Basire was nominated to the living of Stanhope; and in June, 1646, he was summoned by the earl of Dorset to be in waiting upon the king: but the king had been bought and sold before Basire could attempt to obey; and Basire himself having been imprisoned in Stockton castle, in 1647, made his escape and took refuge in France.

A total want of the means of subsistence for himself and his family seems to have driven him abroad. Mrs Basire was left at Egglescliffe with four children, and pregnant with another, to struggle, as well as she could, for the allowance promised by the parliament to the wives and families of delinquent clergymen. This pittance went by the name of *fifths*, and was supposed to be the

fifth part of their estates and goods seized upon by parliament; and by the help of the "committee of sequestration," and the "committee of plundered ministers," appropriated to this purpose. We learn, however, from contemporary writers that this was quite an imaginary apportionment, "so that as one truly and sadly said the fifths were even paid at sixes and sevens,"—"which, however, is true only in the proverbial, and not in the literal sense, (as bad as that would have been) for I shall by and by shew, that in those few instances that I find them paid, it was for the most part after the rate of tens and twelves." "And truly," says another writer, "their ordinance for the fifth part, doth generally prove a mere mockery to the wives and children of the clergy in the midst of their heavy persecution, and a snare to draw them into expense of their last groat, in hopes to get their so fairly promised morsel; which, as I have known very few obtain it effectually, so have many of them after some years of chargeable and vexatious attendance been wearied out, buying at too dear a rate their repentance of believing or hoping any justice or mercy from the puritan faction." Anthony Wood expressly tells us that "no presbyterian or independent was ever known to allow any loyalist, whose places they had occupied for several years, the least farthing; but rather rejected and avoided them, vilified, scorned, and exposed them to the plebeians, as empty, formal, and starched nothings." The subterfuges employed by the commissioners to evade the payment of the fifths committed to their charge, are detailed at length by Fuller in his ecclesiastical history.

It was from Eggescliffe alone that Mrs Basire had any chance of obtaining a maintenance. The college of Durham had ceased to exist, and an intruder had established himself at Stanhope.

From this time, separated from his family, and, in the quaint language of Walker, "sequestered, pursevanted, plundered, and forced to fly," having been thrice shut up in the sieges of Carlisle and Oxford, and in a confinement

in Stockton castle, he was a wanderer on the face of the earth. Going first to his paternal estate at Rouen, he travelled thence with a few pupils, first into Italy, and so on into the east. His correspondence, published by the Rev Mr Darnell, the present worthy rector of Stanhope, is deeply interesting, and the letters from his wife, though the orthography is most extraordinary, are valuable as shewing the difficulties with which religious and loyal persons had to contend during the rebellion. It would not accord with the design of this publication to follow Dr Basire in his travels, but the following letter to "sir Richard Brown, resident at Paris, for his majesty of Great Britain," will make manifest the right feelings which attended him wherever he went.

"SIR, I have according to my duty acquainted you, from time to time, with the several passages of my now seven years voyage. In my last from Aleppo (as yet unanswered) I gave you an account of my stay in Zantes, and of my success there, in spreading amongst the Greeks the Catholic doctrine of our Church, the sum whereof I imparted to sundry of them in a vulgar Greek translation of our Church Catechism, the product whereof was so notable that it drew envy, and consequently persecution upon me from the Latins. This occasioned my voluntary recess into the Morea, where the metropolitan of Achaia prevailed with me to preach twice in Greek at a meeting of some of his bishops and clergy, and it was well taken. At parting I left with him the like copy "ut suprâ." From thence, after I had passed through Apulia, Naples, and Sicily again (in which last at Messina in Dr Duncom's absence I did for some weeks officiate aboard a ship) I embarked for Syria, where, after some months stay in Aleppo, where I had frequent conversation with the patriarch of Antioch, then resident there, I left a copy of our catechism translated into Arabic, the native language there. From Aleppo, I went this last year to Jerusalem, and so travelled

over all Palestina. At Jerusalem I received much honour, both from the Greeks and Latins. The Greek patriarch (the better to express his desire of communion with our old church of England by me declared unto him) gave me this bull or patriarchal seal in a blank (which is their way of credence) besides many other respects. As for the Latins, they received me most courteously into their own convent, though I did openly profess myself a priest of the church of England. After some velitations about the validity of our ordination, they procured me entrance into the temple of the sepulchre, at the rate of a priest, that is half in half less than the laymen's rate; and at my departure from Jerusalem the pope's own vicar (called Commissarius Apostolicus Generalis) gave me his diploma in parchment under his own hand and public seal, in it stiling me *Sacerdotem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* and *S. S. Theologiæ Doctorem*; at which title many marvelled, especially the French ambassador here. Returning to Aleppo, I passed over Euphrates and went into Mesopotamia, (Abraham's country) whither I am now intending to send our catechism in Turkish to some of their bishops, Armenians most of them. This Turkish translation is procured by the good care of sir Thomas Bendyshe, ambassador here. After my return from Mesopotamia, I wintered at Aleppo, where I may not pass under silence sundry courtesies I have received from the civil consul, Mr Henry Riley. This last spring I departed from Aleppo, and came hither by land (six hundred miles all alone, I mean without either servant, or Christian, or any man with me that could so much as speak the Frank language. Yet by the help of some Arabic I had picked up at Aleppo, I did perform this journey in the company of twenty Turks, who used me courteously, the rather because I was their physician, and of their friends by the way (a study whereunto the iniquity of the times, and the opportunity of Padua, did drive me) so by the good hand of God upon me I arrived safe

hither, where I wish the temper of our age would permit me to express my welcome many ways, into the house of the lord ambassador, sir Thomas Bendyshe. Since my arrival hither, the French Protestants here have taken hold of me; and after I had declared unto them my resolution to officiate according to our liturgy, (the translation whereof, for want of a printed copy, cost me no little labour,) they have as yet hitherto orderly submitted to it, and promised to settle me, in three salvable men's hands, a competent stipend: and all this as they tell me, with the express consent of the French ambassador, but still under the roof and protection (eatenus) of the English ambassador. How long this liberty may last I know not, because they are all of them bred after the Geneva discipline, and consequently not like to persevere, or to be suffered to go on in our way; out of which, God willing, I am resolved not to depart, though for it I lose this, as I have lost all. Meanwhile, as I have not been unmindful of our church, with the true patriarch here, whose usurper now for a while doth interpose, so will I not be wanting to embrace all opportunities of propagating the doctrine and repute thereof, *stylo veteri*; especially if I should about it receive any commands or instructions from the king, (whom God save) only in *ordine ad Ecclesiastica* do I speak this; as for instance, proposal of communion with the Greek church (*salvâ conscientiâ et honore*) a church very considerable in all those parts. And to such a communion, together with a convenient reformation of some grosser errors, it hath been my constant design to dispose and incline them. Haply, some months hence, before I leave these parts, I shall pass into Egypt, that I may take a survey of the churches of the Cophtics, and confer with the patriarch of Alexandria, as I have done already with the other three patriarchs, partly to acquire the knowledge of those churches, and partly to publish ours "*quantum fert status.*" All along as I have gone, I have collated the several confessions of faith of the

several sorts of Christians, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, &c., which confessions I have with me in their own languages. I should now long for a comfortable postliminium to my family, but yet I am resolved rather intermori in these toilsome ecclesiastical peregrinations, than to decline the least on either hand from my religion or allegiance. And oh ! that it were with our church as whilhome when God Almighty did shine upon our ways, and uphold both the staves thereof, “beauty and bands ;” but patience, “hoc erat in votis ;” and to recover both shall be the prayer and endeavour of,

“Sir, your &c.”

“Pera, near Constantinople,
20 Julii, 1653.”

The friendly intercourse of an English priest with the churches of the east is always a subject of deep interest ; divided as the western church is and is likely to remain. While he was at Constantinople, in 1654, he received an invitation from George Racoczi, prince of Transylvania, to settle in that country, and he was made by the prince divinity professor in his newly founded university of Alba Julia, or Weissenburg. There he remained, endeavouring to bring about a reformation in religion on the principles of the English church, till the restoration of king Charles the second.

He returned to England in 1661 : Evelyn in his diary thus alludes to him :

“10 July, 1661. In the afternoon preached at the abbey Dr Basire, that great traveller, or rather French apostle, who had been planting the church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He shewed that the church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency and beauty, the most perfect under heaven ; that England was the very land of Goshen.

“Oct. 29, 1662. I went to court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr Basire, one of his majesty’s chaplains, who shewed me the syngraphs and original

subscriptions of divers Eastern patriarchs and Asian churches to our confession."

He was restored to his preferments, though there was some difficulty at first to persuade the intruder at Stanhope, "Anthony Lamant, a Scottish man," to resign the living to its right owner, and to accept another. The joy of Dr Basire at being permitted to return to his family was great, and he entered heartily and zealously upon his pastoral and other duties. His sense of clerical responsibility is expressed in a letter to his son Isaac: "Preaching is a good work, catechizing is a better work, prayer is best of all." His son Isaac being in London, mentions that he had called upon his father's old friend, Dr Busby, who in parting blessed him: and the custom both of praying for one another, and of asking for the sacerdotal blessing, seems not at that time to have departed from the English church, for in another letter Isaac, in writing to his father on some business, states that "my lord bishop of Carlisle brought me to the bishop of Exeter, who, upon my begging it, laid his hands upon me and blessed me." Dr Basire died in 1676: the following is an extract from his last will and testament:

"In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, blessed for ever, Amen, I, Isaac Basire, doctor in divinity and (unworthy) archdeacon of Northumberland, being at present in perfect understanding and memory, praised be God, but having of late years been summoned by diverse infirmities, and put in mind of my mortality and death, now not far off, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following: that is to say, first, I do in all humility resign my soul unto Almighty God, the Father of spirits, trusting wholly and only in the all-sufficient merit, mediation, and full satisfaction of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who suffered death upon the cross for me and all mankind. And I do declare that as I have lived, so I do die, with comfort, in the holy communion of the church of England, both for doctrine

and discipline. And I do further protest, that having taken a serious survey of most Christian churches, both eastern and western, I have not found a parallel of the church of England, both for soundness of apostolical doctrine and catholic discipline. Item. I desire my executor to dispose of my body for decent and frugal burial in the church-yard; not out of any singularity, which I always declined when I was living, but out of veneration of the house of God, though I am not ignorant of the contrary custom: but I do forbid a funeral sermon, although I know the antiquity and utility of such sermons in the primitive church to encourage the Christians of those times unto martyrdom."

Then follow many charitable bequests to his several parishes, and to the choir of the cathedral church of Durham.

His works are, "Deo et Ecclesiæ Sacrum; Sacrilege Arraigned and Condemned by St Paul, Romans ii. 22." "Diatriba de antiqua Ecclesiæ Britannicæ libertate." This was found in the lord Hopton's cabinet, after his decease, by Richard Watson an exile for his loyalty, who caused it to be printed at Bruges, and translated it into English, and published it under the title of "the Ancient liberty of the Britannie Church." "The history of English and Scotch Presbytery;" "Oratio privata boni Theologi (speciatim concionatoris practici) partes præcipuas complectens;" "The dead man's real speech; being a sermon on Heb. xi. 4, at the funeral of Dr John Cosin, late bishop of Durham, 29th of April, 1672; together with a brief account of the life, actions, and sufferings of the said bishop:" from this publication we extract the following passage:

"And now he is dead, and who knows but that God took him away from the evil to come? And as great as he was, you may see now, that a small plat of ground must contain and confine him. Sic transit gloria mundi. He can carry none of all those dignities to his grave; only

his *faith and good works* do attend him to his grave, and beyond his grave, for *his works do follow him*, and that as high as heaven, where he now rests from his labours; but without faith and good works, when a man is dead, vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

"This great man was greater by his actions and great benefactions, concerning which, when in the prosecution of his great buildings, he was interpellated by some with the mention of his children, his usual answer was, *the Church is my first born*; a noble speech, yea a divine sentence, worthy of a king, who may envy it out of a bishop's mouth. He was greatest of all by his constant sufferings, in which sense John Baptist is styled, 'Magnus coram Domino;' not so much for his doings, (though they were great,) for John 'did no miracles,' as for his sufferings; in which sense our late bishop was greatest, for he was a constant confessor for Christ and his true religion, and is but one degree removed from the 'noble army of martyrs,' into whose blessed society our hope is, that he is now gathered."—The *Correspondence of Isaac Basire*, DD. published by W. N. Darnell, BD. rector of Stanhope. Wood's *Fasti*. Hutchinson's *Rest of Durham*. Walker.

BASNAGE, BENJAMIN, a French protestant, was born in 1580. He succeeded his father as minister of the church of Carentan, in Normandy, and assisted at the national synod of Charenton. He was also deputy from the French protestants to James VI. of Scotland. A work by him, entitled a treatise on the Church, has been much esteemed. He died in 1652.—*Moreri*.

BASNAGE, ANTHONY, eldest son of the preceding, was born in 1610. He became minister of Bayeux, and at the age of seventy-five was thrown into prison at Havre de Grace. On recovering his liberty, he retired into Holland, and died at Zutphen in 1691. His son, Samuel Basnage de Flatmanville, succeeded him in his congregation at Bayeux, but he was also forced to leave

France in 1685, and retired to Zutphen, where he died in 1721. He wrote *Exercitations on Baronius*, which he published in 1706, under the title of *Annales politico-ecclesiastici*, 3 vols folio. Of this author Dowling remarks : the “*Annals of Samuel Basnage*, which appeared in 1706, may be described as a work of learning. But the author avowedly wrote with a controversial purpose. He was devoted to the doctrines and discipline of the reformed communion ; and he had not the genius and originality which have sometimes enabled writers of equally exclusive principles, to exert an influence on the whole Christian world.”—*Moreri. Dowling.*

BASNAGE, JAMES, the celebrated ecclesiastical historian, was born at Rouen in 1653. He was educated, first at Saumur, and next at Geneva, after which he became Huguenot minister at Rouen, but on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he retired to Rotterdam. In 1709 he was chosen one of the pastors of the Walloon congregation at the Hague ; and he was also employed in state affairs. The French ambassadors in Holland were directed to apply to him for his counsel, and in return for his services, he obtained the restoration of all his property in France. He died in 1723. His principal works are—

1. *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées*, of which the best edition is that in 2 vols quarto, 1725.
2. *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'a present*, 2 vols folio.
3. *Histoire de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, folio.
4. *Histoire des Juifs*, 15 vols 12mo. This has been translated into English, in 2 vols folio. Dupin having reprinted this work, and adapted it to the doctrines of the church of Rome, the author was induced to publish another volume, entitled, *L'Histoire des Juifs reclamée et retablie, par son veritable auteur*, 12mo.
5. *Entretiens sur la Religion*, 2 vols 12mo.
6. *Antiquités Judaiques*, 2 vols 8vo.
7. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, 2 vols folio.
8. *Dissertation Historiques sur les Duels et les Ordres de*

Chevalerie. Besides these publications, he wrote many others on polemical and practical divinity.

The remarks of Mr Dowling on Samuel Basnage have been given above; Mr Dowling's "Introduction to the critical study of Ecclesiastical history" is a work of such learning and impartiality that his early death is to be deplored as a public loss. His observations on James Basnage are now presented to the reader.

"The controversial warfare which was occasioned by the persecuting measures adopted by Louis XIV. towards his calvinistic subjects, was carried on with more than common bitterness and animosity. The protestant writers who took part in it, had most of them suffered from the tyranny of the oppressor. They had been the victims of grievous injustice; and they were not more affected by a sense of their wrongs, than they were indignant to find insult added to injury, in the affected mildness and moderation of the writings in which some of their most unfeeling and unrelenting enemies appealed to the world. Influenced as they were by the feelings natural to their peculiar circumstances, they were not in a condition to pursue, with success, the study of church-history. Irritation and resentment ill prepared them for an employ which may well be called sacred. It would have been but pious, if, like the hero of the *Æneid*, they had regarded themselves as polluted, in combating even for their homes, and scrupled to handle a hallowed thing till they were able to think and write with calmness.

*Me, bello e tanto digressum et cæde recenti,
Adtrectare nefas ; donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.*

But their very unfitness operated as a stimulus to their activity. They were eager to wrest from their antagonists every weapon which could be used against them. They were more anxious to obtain a victory, than scrupulous about the means by which it might be achieved, or solicitous about the consequences by which it might be fol-

lowed. And, accordingly, we find that in maintaining their own views of the subject, and impugning those of their opponents, they did not hesitate to assail the most venerable facts, nor to call in question the most sacred principles.

“ The most important work which was produced under the circumstances to which I allude, was the “ *Histoire de l'Eglise*” of the celebrated Jacques Basnage. It was professedly written in reply to the “ *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*” of Bossuet. He met the argument of that artful attack on protestantism in a way little calculated to serve the cause of Christianity, and followed his countryman Jurieu in plying the invidious task of exposing the inconsistencies of the ancient Church. Anxious at all hazards to gain an advantage over his eloquent opponent, he traces the history of the government, the doctrine and worship of the Church, carefully pointing out the variations which have prevailed in different times and countries. His extensive learning and great acuteness well fitted him for historical inquiries, and I am not aware that there is any reason to suspect his personal orthodoxy. But though bearing the character of a Christian minister, Basnage was a man of the world, and had evidently little feeling for the sacredness of church-history. His book is not only essentially a work of controversy, but is withal disfigured by the perverseness and flippancy not unfrequent in French writers, and an unfortunate tone of levity and satire. An affectation of moderation ill conceals the partizan and the advocate. We look in vain for impartiality in one who displays alternately the captiousness of the sceptic, and the obstinacy of the bigot. He had no correct conception of the objects of church-history, nor any acquaintance with the true genius of historical composition; yet his keen and searching exposures of the prejudices of his opponents, and his ingenious vindication of his own, entitle his work to attention. It exercised a considerable influence on

future inquirers; but it was an influence which was not salutary. Its effect was rather to retard than accelerate the progress of the science. He was rather a man of detail, than of elevated or comprehensive views; and his example rather tended to perpetuate the polemical manner which others, who made less pretension to liberality, had begun tacitly to abandon, than to raise his subject to the dignity of genuine history."—*Moreri. Dowling.*

BAXTER, RICHARD, was born in 1615, at Rowton, in Shropshire. If credit is to be given to the statements of Baxter, the reformation had, at this period, effected no further good in our Church, than that of correcting our formularies, and of restoring them to their primitive simplicity. By his account the clergy were more corrupt after the reformation than they had been before: he scarcely knew a clergyman who was not an ignoramus and a drunkard; and as for his tutors, they were all guilty of that idleness of which in our own age, they are accustomed sometimes to accuse their pupils. But we must make allowance for considerable exaggeration in his statements, as they were not made until he had become prejudiced against the Church, and his prejudices led him unintentionally to recur to the past with a jaundiced eye. Besides, we must always bear in mind a peculiarity of this distinguished man, who through life had a tendency to consider all men in the wrong, more or less, except himself. Self-will was perhaps his besetting sin, and as he formed no sect, so now he has no place, but stands solitary among theologians. If what he says of the clergy be true, in that statement archbishop Laud may find his justification for the zeal with which he attempted a reform.

But we must do him the justice to say, that if he is severe on the governors and companions of his youth, he does not spare himself, for he confesses that he was addicted to lying, theft, levity, and disobedience to his

parents : the Holy Spirit Who had been given to him in his baptism, and Whom he thus grieved, did not leave him without a warning, for he admits that through his conscience he was often reproached for these offences, though he knew not then, and did not, even in after life, recognize, the sacred Person from whom the warning came, and that besides the iniquity of the conduct, he committed the further offence of sinning away baptismal grace. He was the more without excuse for that he was trained by pious parents, who were “ free from all disaffection to the then government of the Church, and from all scruples concerning its doctrine, worship, or discipline ; they never spake against bishops, or the prayer book, or the ceremonies of the Church ; but they ‘ prayed to God always,’ though always by a book or form, generally a form at the end of the book of common prayer ; they read the Scriptures in their family, especially on the Lord’s day, when others were dancing under a may-pole not far from their door, to their great interruption and annoyance ; they reprov’d drunkards, swearers, and other evil doers ; and they were glad to converse about the Scriptures and the world to come ; for all which they escaped not the revilings of the ungodly.” Of his father, he further says, “ It pleased God to instruct him, and to change him by the bare reading of the Scriptures in private ; and God made him the instrument of my first convictions and approbation of a holy life, as well as my restraint from the grosser sort of livers. When I was very young, his serious speeches of God, and of the life to come, possessed me with a fear of sinning. At first, he set me to read the historical parts of Scripture, which greatly delighted me ; and though I neither understood nor relished the doctrinal part, yet it did me good by acquainting me with the matters of fact, and drawing me on to love the Bible, and to search, by degrees, into the rest.” It will be observed here incidentally, what has been remarked in the life of Aylmer, that the prohibition of sports on the Lord’s day was not introduced by the reformers, but by

the puritans, the Lord's day being a feast, and not a fast ; when Baxter went to court, he found that on the Sunday evening it was customary to have an interlude, on the same principle ; high and low, rich and poor, in England as on the Continent, were, at that time, accustomed, after the sacred duties of the day had comforted and refreshed their souls, to devote some time to the innocent recreation of the body. But when we say this, we must also remember that our own ancestors and religious persons on the Continent, while they thus kept the Lord's day, the day of our Lord's blessed resurrection, as a happy festival, were accustomed to observe the Friday, the day of our Lord's crucifixion, as a strict fast. Later in life Baxter seems to have looked back with greater horror at feeling tempted to join in the innocent recreations of the people on the Lord's day, no law existing at the time to prevent them, than he did at the sins of which he had been guilty, of lying, disobedience, and theft. Such is the tendency of sectarianism to corrupt the judgment.

His early education was imperfectly conducted. His eulogist and biographer, Mr Orme, remarks : " of Hebrew he scarcely knew anything ; his acquaintance with Greek was not profound ; and even in Latin, as his works shew, he must be regarded by a scholar as little less than a barbarian. Of mathematics he knew nothing, and never had a taste for them. Of logic and metaphysics he was a devoted admirer, and to them he dedicated his labour and delight." " The schoolmen were the objects of his admiration ; Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Ockham, and their disciples, were the teachers from whom he acquired no small portion of that acuteness for which he became so distinguished as a teacher, and of that logomachy, by which most of his writings are more or less deformed."

It is said that he never experienced any " real change of heart," until he read " Bunney's Resolution," a book " written by a jesuit of the name of Parsons," and published, with corrections, by Bunney.

His health from early life was extremely delicate, and he was affected with nervous debility; he is said to have been one of the most diseased and afflicted men that ever reached the full ordinary limits of human life. And this is mentioned by his biographers as an excuse for "the acerbity of his temper, his occasional fretfulness and waywardness, and his impatience of contradiction."

In 1638 he was made head-master of a free school at Dudley, and was ordained by the bishop of Worcester. He was now rather more than twenty-three years of age, and considered himself competent to sit in judgment upon the Church. It is interesting to know what the young deacon's judgment was, and we find he did not consider episcopacy to be sinful, and he decided that kneeling at the holy sacrament was lawful: as to the propriety of wearing the surplice he doubted; on the whole he was inclined to submit to it, but though he officiated in the church of England, he never wore "that rag of popery" in his life: the ring in marriage, though a popish custom, "he did not scruple;" but the cross in baptism he deemed unlawful. A form of prayer and liturgy he thought might be used, and, in some cases, might be lawfully imposed; but as to the liturgy of the church of England, "he thought it had much confusion, and many defects in it." Discipline he saw much to be wanted, but his youthful judgment was, that the frame of episcopacy, (a divine institution) did not absolutely exclude it; and thought its omission arose chiefly from the personal neglect of the bishops. Subscription he began to judge unlawful, and thought that he had sinned by his former rashness; for although he did not yet disapprove of a liturgy and bishops, yet to subscribe *ex animo*, that there is nothing in the liturgy contrary to the word of God, was what he could not do again. The baptismal and ordination services, as well as the catechism, are indeed so very catholic, that one is surprised how any one holding ultra-protestant views, can ever accept them. The very "non-natural" sense in which the ordination service is explained

by bishop Sumner, and in which the baptismal offices are understood by many, may be accepted by persons anxious to remain in the establishment, but would not suffice for the strong-minded, self-willed puritans, who sought for a good reason to quit it.

Baxter now began to study the works of the puritans, having first read, without receiving satisfaction, the writings of distinguished churchmen. Among others, he consulted Hooker, but Hooker's argument had no effect upon young Baxter. His biographer, Mr Orme, gives his own opinion of Hooker, which was probably that of Baxter. "Of the man whom popes have praised, and kings commended, and bishops without number extolled, it may be presumptuous in me," says Mr Orme, "to express a qualified opinion. But truth ought to be spoken. The praise of profound erudition, laborious research, and gigantic powers of eloquence, no man will deny to be due to Hooker. But had his celebrated work been written in defence of the popish hierarchy, and popish ceremonies, the greater part of it would have required little alteration. Hence we need not wonder at the praise bestowed on it by Clement VIII., or that James II. should have referred to it as one of two books which promoted his conversion to the church of Rome. His views of the authority of the Church, and the insufficiency of Scripture, are much more popish than protestant; and the greatest trial to which the judiciousness of Hooker could have been subjected, would have been to attempt a defence of the reformation on his own principles. His work abounds with sophisms, with assumptions, and with a show of proof when the true state of the case has not been given, and the strength of the argument never met. The quantity of learned and ingenious reasoning which it contains, and the seeming candour and mildness which it displays, have imposed upon many, and procured for Hooker the name of "*judicious*," to which the solidity of his reasonings, and the services he has rendered to Christianity, by no means entitle him."

Whether Mr Orme or Mr Baxter was competent to sit in judgment upon Hooker, may admit of a doubt: they were evidently unable to distinguish between Catholic truth and Romish corruptions. Baxter had not received an academical education, and we have the testimony of his biographer given above, to his qualifications to sit in judgment on the profound labours of a learned divine. But as Baxter had no Hebrew, little Latin, and less Greek, with no mathematics, we must be more grieved than surprised that Baxter decided that Hooker and the Church were wrong, and the puritans right; especially if it be true, as he asserts, that the puritans led the better life. He indeed blames them for their "sourness," but puritan "sourness" so nearly resembles catholic asceticism in appearance, that it is easy to account for the fact that they had an influence over the half-educated mind of an enthusiastic young man desirous of excellence.

The dissenters were now in the ascendant, and had begun to persecute the clergy. "They had formed," says Southey, "a committee for religion, which received, like an inquisition, complaints from any person against scandalous ministers. To bow at the name of Jesus, or require communicants to receive the sacrament at the altar, was cause enough for scandal now; and any thing which opposed or offended the ruling faction, was comprehended under the general name of malignity, a charge as fatal to the fortunes of those against whom it was brought, as that of heresy would have been to their lives in a papist country." To this committee the town of Kidderminster petitioned against their vicar as a scandalous minister, and Baxter represents him to have been a drunkard. If it was so, he deserved to be suspended, however incompetent the tribunal to which the appeal was made. But it may be stated in his favour, that when he offered to his parishioners sixty pounds a year as a salary for any preacher a committee of fourteen should choose, and promised to confine himself to "the inferior duties" of prayer and the routine of pastoral work, the offer was ac-

cepted ; this proves either that they did not substantiate their charges against him, or that they, like hypocrites, were willing to compound for crime. Baxter was the man of their choice, and he accepted the invitation because "the congregation was large and the church convenient." But he was not without difficulties : at one time "the ignorant rabble" raged against him for preaching, as they supposed, that God hated all infants, because he taught the doctrine of original sin : the very accusation which is at the present day brought against those who, because of original sin, preach the necessity of infant regeneration. At another time they actually sought his life, and probably would have taken it, had they found him at the moment of their rage, because, by order of the parliament, the churchwardens attempted to take down a crucifix which the reformers had left standing in the church yard. So strong was the excitement against Baxter, that he was not long after obliged to withdraw from Kidderminster, on account of an attack upon his life by a mob, excited by a parliamentary order for defacing images of the Holy Trinity in churches, and *for removing crucifixes* ; of which they considered Baxter a party, though the execution of the order had not been attempted. This shews how attached the people were to their religion, and the old forms and ceremonies, until by designing and wicked persons, aided by such well-meaning but half-informed men as Baxter, their passions were inflamed, and they were excited to rebellion. What the reformers tolerated, the puritans destroyed ; and the dissenters of the present day have inherited the spirit, not of the reformers, but of the puritans.

When the rebellion commenced, Baxter acted characteristically : he thought the parliamentarians not quite in the right, and the king not quite in the wrong ; but while persuaded that *he* only could perceive the truth, he became a decided friend to the cause of the rebels, though he did not desire the deposition of the king. Having left Kidderminster, he resided for a time in the ancient city

of Coventry, and there he took the covenant ; whereby he was pledged, “without respect of persons, to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on the hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.” “All persons,” says Southey, “above the age of eighteen, were required to take the covenant ; and such ministers as refused were reported to parliament as malignants, and proceeded against accordingly. No fewer than seven thousand clergymen were on this ground ejected from their livings, so faithful were the great body of the clergy in the worst of times. The extent of private misery and ruin which this occasioned, aggravated in no slight degree the calamities of civil war.” Among these seven thousand confessors Baxter was not : by taking the covenant he escaped persecution, but committed himself as a presbyterian and a rebel.

During the progress of the rebellion he discovered that many of the rebels went further than he did, and desired “to master and ruin the king ;” and that there were many preachers in the rebel army who preached not according to what he thought orthodoxy. He became therefore a chaplain in the rebel army : and it is strange to hear him speaking with contempt of sectaries, as if he had not become one himself, and with indignation of heterodoxy, as if, holding, as he did, the right of private judgment, he could justly, or without a most unchristian violation of charity, call any one heterodox, merely because the opinions which he deduced from Scripture happened to differ from those of Baxter. His position in the army was any thing but pleasant ; he was an unwelcome guest, and seemed more surprised than hurt that Cromwell did not admit him into his councils. His biographer tells us that “nothing but an extraordinary taste for disputation could have disposed

him to enter on, or have enabled him to continue in, such a service." But we cannot help thinking that he was actuated by a yet higher motive: as he had selected the presbyterian religion to be his own, he thought it the true religion, and if the true religion, the only religion; and when he saw the progress of events in the rebellion leading on to the establishment of independency, he became alarmed, and in serving his sect, conscientiously believed that he was serving God. He gives a lamentable description of the immorality and infidelity even, which prevailed in the puritan army, and speaks of the leading ministers as "fierce with pride and self-conceitedness."

While Baxter lived in Coventry the Westminster assembly had been convened by order of parliament; it was convoked, says Southey "to frame a new model of church government. A few of the loyal clergy were appointed, most of whom, in obedience to the king's command, refused to appear upon an illegal summons: a large proportion of seditious preachers, who now openly professed their presbyterian principles; some honest men though further gone in the disease of the age, who, having emigrated to Holland, rather than submit to the order of the Church, returned now to take advantage of its overthrow, and lastly certain members of both houses, and some commissioners from Scotland." It is somewhat remarkable that Baxter was not a member of this notable assembly, and when speaking of it, a feeling of disappointment escapes from him in the expression that he was "not worthy to be one of them himself." Although he approved of the assembly in general, and thought it the most admirable assembly that had existed since the days of the apostles, *except the Synod of Dort*; he criticises it with his usual self-sufficiency: his words are, "Yet, highly as I honour the men, I am not of their mind in every part of the government which they would have set up. Some words in their catechism, I wish had been more clear: and, above all, I wish that the parlia-

ment, and their more skilful hand, had done more than was done to heal our breaches, and had hit upon the right way, either to unite with the episcopalians and independents, or, at least, had pitched on the terms that are fit for universal concord, and left all to come in upon those terms that would."

In 1647 Baxter was obliged to leave the rebel army by a sudden illness, and he retired to sir Thomas Rous's, where he remained some time in a bad state of health. In the meantime the refractory parishioners of Kidderminster had renewed their articles against the vicar, and the deposing committee had sequestered the place. The vicarage was now offered to Baxter. Not being inclined to involve himself in the difficulties of an office which belonged of right to another, he insisted that the sequestration should remain in the hands of the townsmen, and that they should make an allowance to him out of the tithes and other proceeds of the living: he would not steal the horse, but was willing to ride it when others had acted the part of thief. The time of Baxter's residence at Kidderminster was the happiest and most useful period of his life. His ideas with respect to the management of a parish were excellent; he gave his time and his thoughts to his people; he was diligent, generous, and humane: and, according to his own account, he was so wonderfully successful that "on the Lord's day there was no disorder to be seen in the streets; but you might hear an hundred families singing psalms and repeating sermons as you passed through them. "In a word," he says, "when I came thither first, there was about one family in a street which worshipped God and called upon His Name, and when I came away there were some streets where there was not one poor family on the side that did not so." This boast could not have been without foundation; but Baxter was an egotist, and had such an overweening opinion of himself, that what he says must be received with considerable abatement.

It is certain, however, that his opinions now had under-

gone a very considerable change in things relating to the state. Like the other presbyterians, and like ultra-protestants in general, he did not regard rebellion as in itself sinful. He and the presbyterians were willing to take up arms against the king in order to compel him to establish the presbyterian religion, but when they found the rebels had ulterior objects in view, and that toleration of all sects and parties, and not the establishment of presbyterianism was likely to be the end of their proceedings, the presbyterian party became loyalists, and though they did not, and indeed could not, prevent the murder of the king, they censured that act of atrocity, and while submitting to Cromwell, were prepared to assist in the restoration of Charles II.

Although Baxter had taken the covenant at Coventry, when he supposed the object of the rebellion was to establish presbyterianism, he now opposed both that and the engagement: to the latter he was as a matter of course opposed; the imposition of the former he thought inexpedient, as it might hamper men in coming to terms should an opportunity of restoring the king occur. In all these proceedings we must remark that Baxter was suffering under severe disappointment, Cromwell and his officers having treated him when with the army with as much contempt as they dared. We find him again connected with the army, but giving the soldiers and general now very sound advice. In narrating the course he adopted towards them he shews up the hypocrisy of the puritan rebels, and certainly no one knew them better than he did:

“When the soldiers were going against the king and the Scots, I wrote letters to some of them, to tell them of their sin; and desired them at last to begin to know themselves. They were the same men who had boasted so much of love to all the godly, and pleaded for tender dealing with them, and condemned those that persecuted them or restrained their liberty, who were now ready to imbrue their swords in the blood of such as they acknowledged to be godly; and all because they dared not be as perjured

or disloyal as they were. Some of them were startled at these letters, and thought me an uncharitable censurer, who would say that they could kill the godly, even when they were on the march to do it: for how bad soever they spake of the cavaliers (and not without too much desert as to their morals), they confessed, that abundance of the Scots were godly men. Afterwards, however, those that I wrote to better understood me.

“At the same time, the Rump, or Commonwealth, which so much abhorred persecution, and were for liberty of conscience, made an order that all ministers should keep certain days of humiliation, to fast and pray for their success in Scotland: and that we should keep days of thanksgiving for their victories; and this upon pain of sequestration! So that we all expected to be turned out; but they did not execute it upon any, save one, in our parts. For myself, instead of praying and preaching for them, when any of the committee or soldiers were my hearers, I laboured to help them to understand, what a crime it was to force men to pray for the success of those who were violating their covenant and loyalty, and going, in such a cause, to kill their brethren:—what it was to force men to give God thanks for all their bloodshed, and to make God’s ministers and ordinances vile, and serviceable to such crimes, by forcing men to run to God on such errands of blood and ruin:—and what it is to be such hypocrites as to persecute and cast out those that preach the gospel, while they pretend the advancement of the gospel, and the liberty of tender consciences, and leave neither tenderness nor honesty in the world, when the guides of the flocks and preachers of the gospel shall be forced to swallow down such heinous sins.”

At the restoration Baxter was regarded as one of the leaders of the puritans, with whom the loyalists might communicate; but the inconsistency of his principles is well expressed by his eulogist Mr Orme, who can scarcely forgive him for his loyalty, such as it was: “he acted with

the parliament, but maintained the rights of the king; he enjoyed the benefits of the protectorate, but spoke and reasoned against the protector; he hailed the return of Charles, but doubted whether he was freed from allegiance to Richard." The benefits of the protectorate are to be sought in confiscations to the amount of £83,331,489, and in the entire loss of liberty on the part of the people. But such as they were Baxter certainly had his share in them, as he enjoyed at Kidderminster property which belonged to another.

Such was Baxter's state of mind and circumstances on the king's return. "The national feeling," says Southey, "had already been manifested. At the moment that the cannon announced the king's peaceful return to the palace of his fathers, some of the sequestered bishops and other clergy performed a service of thanksgiving in Henry the Seventh's chapel, with feelings such as no other source of joy could ever have excited. In most parts of the country, where the minister was well disposed, a repeal of the laws against the liturgy was not waited for, so certain was it held, by every sound old English heart, that the constitution of their fathers in church as well as in state was now to be restored. The presbyterians felt this; but when they saw how impossible it was to obtain a real triumph, they sought for such a compromise as might be made to have the resemblance of one. Their hope now was, that the Church would give up some of its ceremonies and alter its liturgy to their liking. But in aiming at this, their leaders proceeded with a bad faith, which, when it was detected, abated both the hope and the wish of conciliating them." Baxter's own account of the transactions of this period fully bears out the accuracy of this statement, which is further corroborated by the following passage from lord Clarendon:

"Here," says Clarendon, "I cannot but instance two acts of the presbyterians, by which, if their humour and spirit were not enough discovered and known, their

want of ingenuity and integrity would be manifest; and how impossible it is for men who would not be deceived, to depend on either. When the declaration had been delivered to the ministers, there was a clause in it, in which the king declared 'his own constant practice of the common prayer,' and that he would take it well from those who used it in their churches, that the common people might be again acquainted with the piety, gravity, and devotion of it, and which he thought would facilitate their living in good neighbourhood together, or words to that effect. When they had considered the whole some days, Mr Calamy, and some other ministers deputed by the rest, came to the chancellor to re-deliver it into his hands. They acknowledged the king had been very gracious to them in his concessions; though he had not granted all that some of their brethren wished, yet they were contented, only desiring him that he would prevail with the king, that the clause mentioned before might be left out, which, they protested, was moved by them for the king's own end, and that they might show their obedience to him, and resolution to do him service. For they were resolved themselves to do what the king wished; first to reconcile the people, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form, by informing them that it contained much piety and devotion, and might be lawfully used; and then that they would begin to use it themselves, and by degrees accustom the people to it, which they said would have a better effect than if the clause were in the declaration. For they should be thought in their persuasions to comply only with the king's declaration, and to merit from his majesty, and not to be moved from the conscience of their duty, and so they should take that occasion to manifest their zeal to please the king. And they feared there would be other ill consequences from it by the waywardness of the common people, who were to be treated with skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once. The king was to be present the next morning, to hear the declaration read the

last time before both parties, and then the chancellor told him, in the presence of all the rest, what the ministers had desired, which they again enlarged upon, with the same protestations of their resolutions, in such a manner that his majesty believed they meant honestly, and the clause was left out. But the declaration was no sooner published, than, observing that the people were generally satisfied with it, they sent their emissaries abroad, and many of their letters were intercepted, and particularly a letter from Mr Calamy, to a leading minister in Somersetshire, whereby he advised and intreated him that he and his friends would continue and persist in the use of *the Directory*, and by no means admit the common prayer in their churches; for thus he made no question but that they should prevail further with the king than he had yet consented to in his declaration!

“The other instance was, that as soon as the declaration was printed, the king received a petition in the name of the ministers of London, and many others of the same opinion with them, who had subscribed that petition, amongst whom none of those who had attended the king in those conferences had their names. They gave his majesty humble thanks for the grace he had vouchsafed to show in his declaration, which they received as an earnest of his future goodness and condescension, in granting all those other concessions, which were absolutely necessary for the liberty of their conscience, and desired, with importunity and ill manners, that the wearing the surplice, and the using the cross in baptism, might be absolutely abolished out of the Church, as being scandalous to all men of tender consciences! From these two instances, all men may conclude that nothing but a severe execution of the law can prevail upon that class of men to conform to government.”

Conciliation was, however, still tried, and after the vacant sees had been filled up, and the act repealed which excluded the bishops from parliament, what is commonly called the Savoy Conference was held on the 15th of April,

1661, under a warrant issued by the king on the 25th of March. The commission thus appointed consisted of an equal number of divines of the church of England and of presbyterians, the object being to ascertain from the latter what concessions they required, and from the former whether the Church was capable of conceding any points to presbyterian scruples without violation of principle. It is well known that this conference failed in the object for which it was intended, and ended in a reformation of our liturgy and offices of a catholic, not of a presbyterian character. Our divines at once perceived that their end was to be the establishment of God's truth, not the conciliation of a few persons who, however excellent, were not to be heard when pleading against the catholic Church. By the firmness of our divines at that period, the church was placed in that position in which it now remains.

Baxter took a leading part in the Savoy Conference, and was distinguished rather by the violence of his conduct than by extreme principles: the bitterness of his spirit as regards this conference is painfully apparent in the account he gives of it in his life. His self-confidence was remarkably conspicuous in the fact, that, not content with objecting to the catholic liturgy of the Church as reformed in the reigns of Edward, Elizabeth, and James, he set himself the task of writing an entirely new liturgy, which he completed in a fortnight. He ventured to do what the reformers had not attempted, and set up his own intellect as equal to the wisdom of the whole Church. Isaac Walton, in his life of bishop Sanderson, makes the following remarks upon the celebrated conference here alluded to :

“ The points debated were, I think, many ; (and I think many of them needless) some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either ; and these debates being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For some time that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And

that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolved that the day following the desires and reasons of the non-conformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren; yet I am sure Mr Richard Baxter was one, and I am sure also one of the points debated was ‘Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient towards its being a lawful command?’—This following proposition was brought by the conforming party:

‘That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.’

“Mr Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: one was, ‘Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command.’ Another was, ‘That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.’

“Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, ‘That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful.’

“Mr Baxter denied it for this reason then given in with his own hand in writing, thus; ‘Because the *first* act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such.’

“Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, ‘That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawful-

ness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty.'

"Mr Baxter denied it upon the same reasons."

Peter Gunning.

John Pearson.

"These were then two of the disputants, still live, and will attest this; one being now lord bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name) appeared to Dr Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr Sanderson (who was then bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops) to say with an unusual earnestness, 'That he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all his conversation.'"

In the meantime Baxter had been kindly treated: he had been one of the chaplains appointed by the king on his restoration, and had been offered a bishopric. But there was so much generosity in Baxter's disposition, and such honest devotion to the cause which, however mistaken, he considered to be the cause of truth, that he was not to be bribed; and the offer of a bishopric was disgraceful in those who made it, while its rejection was honourable to Baxter. When his vanity was offended he could become a bitter enemy; but as to station he desired only that, in which he knew that he could be useful, and the object of his ambition was a restoration to Kidderminster, if the vicar of that parish could be induced to leave it by the offer of other preferment. This could never be effected, though Baxter endeavoured to create in the parish a faction in his own favour, which caused the vicar some trouble. Being thus disappointed he preached occasionally in the city of London, having a license from Sheldon, bishop of London, upon his subscribing a promise not to preach any thing contrary to the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. He preached his farewell sermon at Blackfriars

in May, 1662, and then retired to Acton, in Middlesex, which was his chief place of residence as long as the act against conventicles was in force.

All hopes of obtaining a station, for we can hardly say that he desired preferment, in the church of England were, of course, renounced by Baxter when the act of Uniformity passed in 1662. This act required the clergy of the church of England to conform to the liturgy of the church of England, and enacted that preachers unordained should receive ordination. "The measure," says Mr Southey, "was complained of, as an act of enormous cruelty and persecution; and the circumstance of its being fixed for St Bartholomew's day gave the complainants occasion to compare it with the atrocious deed committed upon that day against the Huguenots of France. They were careful not to remember that *the same day, and for the same reason*, (because tithes were commonly due at Michaelmas) had been appointed for the former ejection, by the rebels and dissenters, when four times as many of the loyal clergy were deprived for fidelity to their sovereign. No small proportion of the present sufferers had obtained preferment by means of that tyrannical deprivation: they did but drink now of the cup which they had administered to others." Owing to the act of uniformity it is said by presbyterians that two thousand ministers were deprived; but, says sir Roger L'Estrange, "as to your account of two thousand silenced ministers, a matter of eight or nine hundred difference shall break no squares between you and me."

Common sense must admit that if the Church was to be restored in England, none could be admitted to minister at her altars but those whom the catholic Church considers to be canonically ordained, and who would conform to her doctrine and discipline. In these days the very persons who are wont to censure the conduct of the restoration government for thus ejecting men who, at heart, were presbyterians, are vehement advocates of the principle on which they acted, and endeavour by its appli-

cation to drive from the Church all who are supposed to entertain feelings friendly to Romanism. The conduct of all parties in the Church at the present time thus vindicates the much censured conduct of the good and wise men who restored and reformed the church of England after the restoration. But if such is the case, the change in public opinion which has subsequently taken place, will induce another class of persons to regret that a toleration was not fully established. It *was* proper that those only should be permitted to minister in the church of England who conformed to her formularies, but we must regret that the presbyterians and others were not permitted that full toleration which they now enjoy. The truth, however, is that the government desired a toleration, and that they were opposed, and strongly opposed by the presbyterians and puritans. They wished to be tolerated, and even demanded to be patronized themselves, but with the intolerance and the self-deception for which that party have always been distinguished, they would rather suffer themselves, than share with others a benefit they desired. The feeling of the puritans may be perceived from the following statements of Baxter : on one occasion, when the puritans were pleading their cause with the chancellor, lord Clarendon, he “ drew out another paper, and told us that the king had been petitioned also by the independents and anabaptists ; and though he knew not what to think of it himself, and did not very well like it, yet something he had drawn up which he would read to us, and desire us also to give our advice about it. Thereupon he read, as an addition to the declaration, ‘ that others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it, they do it not to the disturbance of the peace ; and that no justice of peace or officer disturb them.’ When he had read it, he again desired them all to think on it, and give their advice ; but all were silent. The presbyterians all perceived, as soon as they heard it, that it would secure the liberty of the papists ; and Dr Wallis whis-

pered me in the ear, and entreated me to say nothing, for it was an odious business, but to let the bishops speak to it. But the bishops would not speak a word, nor any one of the presbyterians, and so we were like to have ended in silence. I knew, if we consented to it, it would be charged on us, that we spake for a toleration of papists and sectaries : yet it might have lengthened out our own. And if we spake against it, all sects and parties would be set against us as the causers of their sufferings, and as a partial people that would have liberty ourselves, but would have no others enjoy it with us. At last, seeing the silence continue, I thought our very silence would be charged on us as consent, if it went on, and therefore I only said this : ‘ That this reverend brother, Dr Gunning, even now speaking against the sects, had named the papists and the socinians : for our parts, we desired not favour to ourselves alone, and rigorous severity we desired against none. As we humbly thanked his majesty for his indulgence to ourselves, so we distinguished the tolerable parties from the intolerable. For the former, we humbly craved just lenity and favour, but for the latter, such as the two sorts named before by that reverend brother, for our parts, we could not make their toleration our request.’ To which his majesty said, there were laws enough against the papists ; to which I replied, that we understood the question to be, whether those laws should be executed on them or not. And so his majesty broke up the meeting of that day.”

On another occasion it seems that a toleration had been almost obtained, the circumstances of its failure are thus given by Baxter :

“ Having got past Bartholomew’s day, I proceed in the history of the consequent calamities. When I was absent, resolving to meddle in such businesses no more, Mr Calamy and the other ministers of London who had acquaintances at court, were put in hope the king would grant that by way of indulgence, which was formerly denied them ; and

that before the act was passed, it might be provided that the king should have power to dispense with such as deserved well of him in his restoration, or whom he pleased: but all was frustrated. After this, they were told that the king had power himself to dispense in such cases, as he did with the Dutch and French churches, and some kind of petition they drew up to offer the king; but when they had done it, they were so far from procuring their desires, that there fled abroad grievous threatenings against them, that they should incur a premunire for such a bold attempt. When they were drawn to it at first, they did it with much hesitancy, and they worded it so cautiously, that it extended not to the papists. Some of the independents presumed to say, that the reason why all our addresses for liberty had not succeeded, was because we did not extend it to the papists; that for their parts, they saw no reason why the papists should not have liberty of worship as well as others; and that it was better for them to have it, than for all of us to go without it. But the presbyterians still answered, that the king might himself do what he pleased; and if his wisdom thought meet to give liberty to the papists, let the papists petition for it as we did for ours; but if it were expected that we should be forced to become petitioners for liberty to popery, we should never do it whatever be the issue; nor should it be said to be our work.

“On the 26th December, 1662, the king sent forth a declaration, expressing his purpose to grant some indulgence or liberty in religion, with other matters, not excluding the papists, many of whom had deserved so well of him. When this came out, the ejected ministers began to think more confidently of some indulgence to themselves. Mr Nye, also, and some other of the independents, were encouraged to go to the king, and, when they came back, told us, that he was now resolved to give them liberty. On the second of January, Mr Nye came to me, to treat about our owning the king's declaration, by returning him thanks for it; when I perceived that it was

designed that we must be the desirers or procurers of it ; but I told him my resolution to meddle no more in such matters, having incurred already so much hatred and displeasure by endeavouring unity. The rest of the ministers also had enough of it, and resolved that they would not meddle ; so that Mr Nye and his brethren thought it partly owing to us that they missed their intended liberty. But all were averse to have any thing to do with the indulgence or toleration of the papists, thinking it at least unfit for them."

There is something particularly *naïve* in the one-sided view of liberality taken by Baxter in the following passage, which relates to a plan of toleration suggested by the government in 1668. "But after all this," says Baxter, "we were as before. The talk of liberty did but occasion the writing many bitter pamphlets against toleration. Among others, they gathered out of mine and other men's books all that we had there said against liberty for popery, and for quakers railing against the ministers in open congregations, which they applied as against a toleration of ourselves ; for the bare name of toleration did seem in the people's ears to serve their turn by signifying the same thing. Because we had said that men should not be tolerated to preach against Jesus Christ and the scriptures, they would thence justify themselves for not tolerating us to preach for Jesus Christ, unless we would be deliberate liars, and use all their inventions. Those same men, who, when commissioned with us to make such alterations in the liturgy as were necessary to satisfy tender consciences, did maintain that no alteration was necessary to satisfy them, and did moreover, contrary to all our importunity, make so many new burdens of their own to be anew imposed on us, had now little to say but that they must be obeyed, because they were imposed." Baxter and his friends, being right, ought to be tolerated, all other parties, being wrong, ought not to be tolerated ; but why Baxter and his friends were more likely to be right than independents and papists does not appear.

In 1672 was issued the king's declaration dispensing with the penal laws against nonconformists. "When it came out," says Baxter, "the London nonconformable ministers were invited to return his majesty their thanks. At their meeting, Dr Seaman and Mr Jenkins, who had been till then most distant from the court, were for a thanksgiving, in such high applauding terms as Dr Manton, and almost all the rest, dissented from. Some were for avoiding terms of approbation, lest the parliament should fall upon them; and some, because they would far rather have had any tolerable state of unity with the public ministry than a toleration; supposing, that the toleration was not chiefly for their sakes, but for the papists, and that they should hold it no longer than that interest required it, which is inconsistent with the interest of the protestant religion, and the church of England: and that they had no security for it, but it might be taken from them at any time." At this time also, the government ordered fifty pounds a year to be paid to most of the nonconformist ministers in London, and a hundred to the chief of them. Baxter, with his usual independence, sent back his pension, which is represented by Burnet in the light of hush money.

Since these were the principles by which Baxter was influenced, we feel less inclined to sympathize with him in the occasional hardships to which he was exposed during the reigns of Charles and his brother. He was determined to preach, and when he preached he was maliciously watched and malignantly misrepresented, not by the authorities of the Church, but by the partizans of government. To the authorities of church and state he was often accused, though always unjustly, of sedition. He was often incautious, and as he was suspected, the misrepresentations of his conduct were easily believed. When he was in prison, he was merely subjected to restraint, until the circumstances of his case were enquired into. On one occasion, when he was committed by the magistrates,

under suspicion of being engaged in a seditious movement with which he was evidently in no way concerned, he says: "My imprisonment was at present no great suffering to me, for I had an honest jailor, who showed me all the kindness he could. I had a large room, and the liberty of walking in a fair garden. My wife was never so cheerful a companion to me as in prison, and was very much against my seeking to be released. She had brought so many necessaries, that we kept house as contentedly and comfortably as at home, though in a narrower room, and had the sight of more of my friends in a day, than I had at home in half a year. I knew also that if I got out against their will, my sufferings would be never the nearer to an end. But yet, on the other side, it was in the extreme heat of summer, when London was wont to have epidemical diseases. The hope of my dying in prison, I have reason to think was one great inducement to some of the instruments to move to what they did. My chamber being over the gate, which was knocked and opened with noise of prisoners just under me, almost every night, I had little hope of sleeping but by day, which would have been likely to have quickly broken my strength, which was so little that I did but live. The number of visitors daily, put me out of hope of studying, or of doing any thing but entertain them. I had neither leave at any time to go out of doors, much less to church on the Lord's days, nor on that day to have any come to to me, or to preach to any but my family." His friends were justly indignant at the treatment he received, and he says, "the moderate, honest part of the episcopal clergy were much offended, and I was chosen out designedly to make them all odious to the people." The circumstance took place when at the profligate court of Charles the church of England was out of favour, and to spite the Church the government was inclined to treat with the nonconformists.

In 1662 Baxter had married Margaret, daughter of

Francis Charleton, Esq., of Shropshire ; and his marriage created some laughter and surprise, not only because at forty-seven years of age he allied himself to a young lady of twenty-two, but because he had been accustomed to talk rather incautiously in favour of the celibacy (not compulsory) of the clergy. When stating the causes of his success at Kidderminster, he says, " I found also that my single life afforded me much advantage ; for I could easier take my people for my children, and think all that I had too little for them, in that I had no children of my own to tempt me to another way of using it. Being discharged from family cares, and keeping but one servant, I had the greater vacancy and liberty for the labours of my calling." Some time before his marriage took place, he remarks, in his usual egotistic strain, which renders every thing of public importance in his own estimation which relates to himself, " it was rung about every where partly as a wonder, and partly as a crime ; and that the king's marriage was scarcely more talked about." For this, remarks Mr Orme, " he had no doubt furnished some occasion, by the manner in which he had expressed himself respecting ministers marrying, which he considered barely lawful."

Besides the controversies to which allusion has already been made, Baxter had a long discussion, in person and by writing, with Dr Owen, about the terms of agreement with Christians of all parties. It was not productive of any practical effect at the time, and Baxter, of course, lays the blame of its failure upon Owen. Baxter's biographer remarks that in this controversy Baxter was sharp and cutting in his reproofs, and disposed to push matters too far. He tells us that Owen frequently made friends of enemies, while Baxter often made enemies of friends.

After the indulgence in 1672 Baxter returned to London, and preached on week-days at Pinner's Hall, at a meeting in Fetter-lane, and in St James's market house ; about two years afterwards, he built a meeting-house in

Oxenden-street. Both there, and in a meeting-house in Swallow-street, he was subjected to much annoyance.

In 1682 Charles II being exasperated at the resistance offered by the presbyterians to any toleration which should include the papists, resolved to humble the former: and in common with several others, Baxter was seized for coming within five miles of a corporate town, contrary to an act of parliament; and in 1684 he was seized again. In the reign of James II he was committed a prisoner to the King's Bench, and tried before the infamous Jeffries for his paraphrase on the New Testament, which, because it contained certain allusions to passing events, and many unjustifiable and unfair insinuations against prelates and prelatists, was stigmatized as a scandalous and seditious book against the government. The conduct of Jeffries throughout this affair was atrocious. Baxter was committed to prison from which after two years he was discharged, the fine which had been imposed upon him being remitted by the king. When he was in prison he was visited by his friends, and by many even of the clergy of the church of England who sympathized with his sufferings, and deplored the injustice he had received. During his imprisonment he enjoyed more quietness, as he admits, than he had done for many years before. So that in fact the hardship he suffered was not great, though the conduct of those who prosecuted and condemned him cannot be sufficiently reprobated. We have an account of him in prison from the well known Matthew Henry, in a letter addressed to his father in 1685.

“ I went into Southwark, to Mr Baxter. I was to wait upon him once before, and then he was busy. I found him in pretty comfortable circumstances, though a prisoner, in a private house near the prison, attended on by his own man and maid. My good friend, Mr [Samuel] [Lawrence,] went with me. He is in as good health as one can expect; and, methinks, looks better, and speaks heartier, than when I saw him last. The token you sent,

he would by no means be persuaded to accept, and was almost angry when I pressed it, from one outed as well as himself. He said he did not use to receive; and I understand since, his need is not great.

“We sat with him about an hour. I was very glad to find that he so much approved of my present circumstances. He said he knew not why young men might not improve as well, as by travelling abroad. He inquired for his Shropshire friends, and observed, that of those gentlemen who were with him at Wem, he hears of none whose sons tread in their father’s steps but Colonel Hunt’s. He inquired about Mr Macworth’s, and Mr Lloyd’s (of Aston) children. He gave us some good counsel to prepare for trials; and said the best preparation for them was, a life of faith, and a constant course of self-denial. He thought it harder constantly to deny temptations to sensual lusts and pleasures, than to resist one single temptation to deny Christ for fear of suffering; the former requiring such constant watchfulness: however, after the former, the latter will be the easier. He said, we who are young are apt to count upon great things, but we must not look for them; and much more to this purpose. He said he thought dying by sickness usually much more painful and dreadful, than dying a violent death; especially considering the extraordinary supports which those have who suffer for righteousness’ sake.”

The notes and passages referred to in the paraphrase are here given, and while the reader will conclude that Baxter received hard measure, we cannot but remark on the irreverent and unchastened tone of mind with which he ventured to approach the most sacred subjects, and on the absence of that Christian temper of forgiveness, which we should have expected in a Christian advanced in years.

Matt. v. 19. “If any shall presume to break the least of these commands, because it is a little one, and teach men so to do, he shall be vilified as he vilified God’s law, and not thought fit for a place in the kingdom of the

Messiah ; but he shall be there greatest that is most exact in *doing* and *teaching* all the law of God."

Note.—"Are not those preachers and prelates, then, the *least* and basest, that preach and tread down Christian love of all that dissent from any of their presumptions, and so preach down, not the *least*, but the *great* command."

Mark iii. 6. "It is folly to doubt whether there be devils, while devils incarnate dwell among us. What else but devils, sure, could ceremonious hypocrites consult with politic royalists to destroy the Son of God, for saving men's health and lives by miracle? Query: Whether this withered hand had been their own, they would have plotted to kill him that would have cured them by miracle, as a sabbath-breaker? And whether their successors would silence and imprison godly ministers, if they could cure them of all their sicknesses, help them to preferment, and give them money to feed their lusts."

Mark ix. 39. *Note*.—"Men that preach in Christ's name, therefore, are not to be silenced, though faulty: if they do more good than harm, dreadful, then, is the case of them that silence Christ's faithful ministers."

Mark xi. 31. *Note*.—"It was well that they considered what might be said against them, which now most Christians do not in their disputes. These persecutors, and the Romans, had some charity and consideration, in that they were restrained by the fear of 'the people, and did not accuse and fine them, as for routs, riots, and seditions.'"

Mark xii. 38-40. *Note*.—"Let not these proud hypocrites deceive you, who, by their long liturgies and ceremonies, and claim of superiority, do but cloak their worldliness, pride, and oppression, and are religious to their greater damnation."

Luke x. 2. *Note*.—"Priests now are many, but labourers are few. What men are they that hate and silence the faithfullest labourers, suspecting that they are not for their interest?"

John xi. 57. Note.—“1. Christ’s ministers are God’s ordinances to save men, and the devil’s clergy use them for snares, mischief, and murder. 2. They will not let the people be neuters between God and the devil, but force them to be informing persecutors.”

Acts xv. 2. Note.—“1. To be dissenters and disputants against errors and tyrannical impositions upon conscience is no fault, but a great duty. 2. It is but a groundless fiction of some that tell us that this was an appeal to Jerusalem, because it was the metropolis of Syria and Antioch, as if the metropolitan church power had been then settled; when, long after, when it was devised, indeed, Antioch was above Jerusalem; and it is as vain a fiction that this was an appeal to a general council, as if the apostles and elders at Jerusalem had been a general council, when none of the bishops of the Gentile churches were there, or called thither. It is notorious that it was an appeal to the apostles, taking in the elders, as those that had the most certain notice of Christ’s mind, having conversed with him, and being intrusted to teach all nations whatever he commanded them, and had the greatest measure of the Spirit; and also, being Jews themselves, were such as the Judaising Christians had no reason to suspect or reject.”—*Baxter’s New Testament in locis.*”

The biographer and eulogist of Baxter, Mr Orme, remarks, that “some of the phraseology is *pointed and severe*, characteristic of Baxter’s style, but all justly called for by the treatment which he and others had experienced.” The writer of this sentence forgot at the moment that Baxter professed to be the follower of Him who, “when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He suffered He threatened not.”

But Baxter was more liberal than the other puritans with whom he was associated: though his mind was so constituted that he could accord entirely with no one, he says:

“If I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the In-

dependents, yea, the anabaptists, owning no heresy, nor setting themselves against charity and peace, I would sometimes hold occasional communion with them as Christians, if they would give me leave, without forcing me to any sinful subscription or action ; though my most usual communion should be with that society which I thought most agreeable to the word of God if I were free to choose. I cannot be of *their opinion, that think God will not accept him that prayeth by the Common Prayer Book* ; and that such forms are a self-invented worship, which God rejecteth ; nor yet can I be of their mind that say the like of extempore prayers."

After he was released from prison he continued to live some time within the rules of the King's Bench ; till, on the 28th of February, 1687, he removed to his house in Charterhouse yard ; and, as far as health would permit, assisted Mr Sylvester in his public labours. He was too old to take much part in the revolutionary movements of 1688, and what his opinions were with reference to the revolution itself is unknown. The dissenting ministers of London waited upon the Stadtholder on his arrival with a Dutch army in London, and assured him of their hearty concurrence in his enterprise ; but Baxter does not appear to have been of their number. When the toleration act passed, dissenters were placed under the full protection of the law, on taking the oaths to government, and subscribing thirty-five and a half, of the thirty-nine articles. This was the last public measure in regard to which Baxter took an active part. He drew up a paper containing his sense of the articles he was called upon to subscribe. It is curious to see the same presumption of mind operating to the last. As the youth of twenty-three sat in judgment upon his mother, the church of England ; so the nonconforming Septuagenarian sat in judgment on the Catholic Church ; for, among other things, he objected, except with an explanation, to one important article in the Nicene creed, namely, to the clause which describes our Lord as " God of God, very

God of very God ;” whereby he proved himself as ignorant as he certainly was presumptuous : nor could he assent to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed, by which every clergyman of the church of England, having signed the thirty-nine articles in their plain literal meaning, assents to an awful anathema upon all who do not hold the doctrine of the Trinity in the Catholic sense. It seems certain that he and others were permitted to subscribe in what has since been called a “ non-natural” sense.

The labours and the life of Baxter were now drawing to a close, and on looking back upon his past life, he remarks :

“ In my younger years, my trouble for sin was most about my actual failings ; but now I am much more troubled for inward defects and omissions, for want of the vital duties or graces of the soul. My daily trouble is so much for my ignorance of God, weakness of belief, want of greater love to God, strangeness to Him and to the life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to die, and more longing to be with God in heaven, that I take not some immoralities, though very great, to be in themselves so great and odious sins, if they could be found separate from these. Had I all the riches of the world, how gladly should I give them for a fuller knowledge, belief, and love, of God and everlasting glory ! These wants are the greatest burden of my life, which oft maketh my life itself a burden. I cannot find any hope of reaching so high in these enjoyments, while I am in the flesh, as I once hoped before this time to have attained ; which maketh me the wearier of this sinful world, that is honoured with so little of the knowledge of God.”

“ Heretofore, I placed much of my religion in tenderness of heart, grieving for sin, and penitential tears ; and less of it in the love of God, in studying His goodness, and engaging in His joyful praises, than now I do. Then I was little sensible of the greatness and excellency of love and praise, though I coldly spake the same words as now

I do. I am less troubled for want of grief and tears (though I value humility, and refuse not needful humiliation), but my conscience now looketh at love and delight in God, and praising Him as the top of all my religious duties; for which it is that I value and use the rest."

He justly observes in another place:—"It can be no small sin formally, which is committed against knowledge and conscience and deliberation, whatever excuse it have. To have sinned while I preached and wrote against sin, and had such abundant and great obligations from God, and made so many promises against it, doth lay me very low: not so much in fear of hell, as in great displeasure against myself, and such self-abhorrence as would cause revenge upon myself, were it not forbidden. When God forgiveth me, I cannot forgive myself; especially for my rash words or deeds, by which I have seemed injurious and less tender and kind than I should have been to my near and dear relations, whose love abundantly obliged me. When such are dead, though we never differed in point of interest, or any other matter, every sour, or cross provoking word which I gave them, maketh me almost irreconcilable to myself, and tells me how repentance brought some of old to pray to the dead whom they had wronged, to forgive them, in the hurry of their passion.

"That which I named before, by-the-by, is grown one of my great diseases; I have lost much of that zeal which I had to propagate any truths to others, save the mere fundamentals. When I perceive people or ministers to think they know what indeed they do not, which is too common, and to dispute those things which they never thoroughly studied, or expect that I should debate the case with them, as if an hour's talk would serve instead of an acute understanding and seven years' study, I have no zeal to make them of my opinion, but an impatience of continuing discourse with them on such subjects, and am apt to be silent or to turn to something else; which, though there be some reason for it, I feel cometh from a want of zeal for the truth, and from an impatient temper of mind. I am

ready to think that people should quickly understand all in a few words ; and if they cannot, to despair of them, and leave them to themselves. I know the more that this is sinful in me, because it is partly so in other things, even about the faults of my servants or other inferiors ; if three or four times warning do no good to them, I am much tempted to despair of them, turn them away, and leave them to themselves.

“ I mention all these distempers that my faults may be a warning to others to take heed, as they call on myself for repentance and watchfulness. O Lord ! for the merits, and sacrifice, and intercession of Christ, be merciful to me, a sinner, and forgive my known and unknown sins !”

The latter years of his life were full of bodily suffering and sorrow ; he was less occupied as a preacher, but was still indefatigable as a writer. He died on the 8th of December, 1691.

He is said to have written above 120 books, and to have had above 60 written against him ; but the chief of his works are,—1. A Narrative of his own Life and Times. 2. The Saints’ Everlasting Rest. 3. A Paraphrase on the New Testament. 4. A Call to the Unconverted. 5. Dying Thoughts. 6. Poor Man’s Family Book.

In some of these works, intermixed of course with much that is erroneous, there are some beautiful thoughts, and the fervour with which he threw his whole soul into what he wrote, has secured for them attention even in the present day.—*Baxter’s Life and Times. Calamy. Orme, and the contemporary Historians.*

BAYES, JOSHUA, was born at Sheffield, in 1671, and was one of the first persons set apart as preachers by the presbyterian dissenters, in 1694. His meeting-house was in Leather Lane, Holborn, and he was concerned in what is called the Merchant’s Lecture, at Salter’s hall. He assisted in completing the exposition of the Bible which had been left unfinished by Matthew Henry. He died in 1746.—*Gen. Dict.*

BAYLEY, ANSELM, was educated at Christ church, Oxford, where he took the degree of doctor of laws in 1764. He became minor canon of St Paul's and of Westminster abbey, and also sub-dean of the Chapel Royal. He died in 1794. His works are—1. *The Antiquity, Evidence, and Certainty of Christianity canvassed*, 8vo. 2. *A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing*, 8vo. 3. *A plain and complete Grammar of the English language*, 8vo. 4. *A Grammar of the Hebrew language*, 8vo. 5. *The Old Testament, English and Hebrew, with remarks*, 4 vols. 8vo. 6. *The Commandments of God, in the Jewish and Christian churches; two sermons*, 8vo. 7. *The Alliance between Music and Poetry*, 8vo.—*Gent. Mag.*

BAYLY, LEWIS, was born at Caermarthen, and educated at Oxford, where he became reader of the sentences in Exeter-college in 1611. About the same time he was vicar of Evesham, in Worcestershire, chaplain to Prince Henry, and rector of St Matthew, Friday-street, London. In 1613, he accumulated his degrees in divinity, and in 1616 was consecrated bishop of Bangor. In 1621, he was committed to the Fleet, but upon what account is not stated. He died in 1632, and was interred in the cathedral of Bangor. This bishop wrote a book, which was once extremely popular, and went through sixty editions in English, besides several in Welch. The title is “*The Practice of Piety*,” 8vo. and 12mo.—*Biog. Brit.*

BAYLY, THOMAS, the youngest son of the bishop, was educated at Cambridge, and in 1638 obtained the sub-deanery of Wells. Being at Oxford in 1644, he was created doctor in divinity, and two years afterwards he resided as chaplain to the marquis of Worcester, at Ragland-castle; on the surrender of which place, he was employed to draw up the articles of capitulation. After this, he travelled abroad, but returned in 1649, and published a book entitled, “*Certamen Religiosum, or a conference between king Charles I. and Henry, late marquis of Worcester, concerning religion, in Ragland-castle, anno 1646.*”

This work is said to have been written for no other purpose, than to justify the doctor's conduct in quitting the church of England for that of Rome. But the truth of this is questionable, for the relation has all the evidence of being a real conference; and the arguments stated to have been advanced by the king, are far stronger than those on the other side. The same year Dr Bayly published "The Royal Charter granted unto Kings;" for which he was sent to Newgate; and while there, wrote a book, entitled "Herba parietis, or the Wall-Flower, as it grows out of the stone chamber belonging to the metropolitan prison," folio, 1650. Soon after this he effected his escape, and went to Douay, where he published a book called "Dr Bayly's Challenge, in justification of his conversion." He next travelled into Italy, and died very poor, in 1659. Besides the above works, he published—1. Worcester's Apophthegms, or Witty Sayings, of the Right Honourable Henry, late Marquess and Earl of Worcester, 12mo. 1650. 2. The Life of Bishop Fisher, 12mo. This last, however, is said to have been written by Dr Richard Hall, canon of the church of St Omer's, who died in 1604, and the manuscript falling into the hands of Dr Bayly, he published it as his own.—*Biog. Brit. Dodd's Church Hist.*

BEATON, JAMES. This prelate is rather to be regarded as a statesman than a divine, and the notice of him will accordingly be brief. He was descended from the family of Beatons of Balfour, in Fifeshire, and was appointed provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, in 1503. In the next year he became abbot of Dunfermline and prior of Whiterne; and in 1505, through the favour of king James VI., to whom he was greatly acceptable, was promoted to the office of lord high treasurer. In 1508 he was elected bishop of Galloway, and, in the same year, was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, on which he resigned the treasurer's place.

When, after the battle of Flodden-field, the regency was entrusted to the queen mother, Beaton was a prominent member of the council appointed to advise her; and when, through her marriage with the earl of Angus, her authority ceased, it was chiefly through his intervention that the duke of Albany was enabled to succeed to the government. He was rewarded by the grateful regent on his accession to power (1515) with the office of chancellor of the kingdom. He obtained at the same time the abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning, *in commendam*.

In 1522 he became archbishop of St Andrews and primate of the Scottish Church. Referring the reader to the history of Scotland for a narrative of Beaton's conduct as a statesman, we shall only mention here, that in his primacy the first blood was shed in the cause of protestantism.

There were many good and earnest men who felt that a reform was required in the established church, but the government was unsettled and the age was revolutionary, and they were afraid to move. Their constant reference, however, to the corruptions of the Scottish establishment, awakened the enthusiasm and inflamed the passions of younger men. A party among the nobles who envied the wealth of the Church, and were unscrupulous in their measures for the advancement of their faction, were soon found to encourage the protestant feeling. At the same time Scotland was divided into two great parties, the one determined to maintain the independence of the country, and in the French interest, the other in the English interest, ready, from personal motives, to bring Scotland into subjection to the English crown. As the protestants belonged entirely to the latter party, they were of course obnoxious on political as well as on religious grounds to the existing government. Every conservative feeling was aroused against the innovators, who were seeking to reform the Church, and in their zeal for reform would not care to sacrifice the independence of their country. The pro-

testants, at first consisted of earnest and zealous men, admired for their talents and respected for their virtues : while they remained few in number and beneath notice as a party, the government was quiescent, notwithstanding the frequent exhortations of timid conservatives who required that strong measures should be adopted to put them down. The fury of those, who, attached to the establishment of the country, required the destruction of the innovators, has not been surpassed even by the violence of puritans, when, at a subsequent period, puritanism was in the ascendant : the heads of the Church and the ministers of the crown were rebuked as careless and indifferent by those who arrogated to themselves the title of their best supporters. In the meantime hot-headed young men had joined the protestant party, and the whole party had been hurried into excesses ; they boldly proclaimed that tithes ought not to be paid to the clergy, that every faithful man and woman is a priest, that the unction of kings ceased at the coming of Christ, that the blessing of bishops is of no value, that excommunication of the Church is not to be feared, that oaths are in all cases unlawful, that true Christians receive the Body of Christ every day : many added that man has no free will, that all good Christians know that they are under grace, that works can make us neither good nor evil, and can neither save nor condemn us ; they even went so far as to say that God is the author of sin, since He withholds his grace from some, and since without grace they must of necessity sin. The political principles maintained by this party may be gathered from the account of John Major, the author of the *De Gestis Sectorum*, as given by Dr Mc'Crie, who says that he taught "that the authority of kings and princes were originally derived from the people ; that the former are not superior to the latter collectively considered ; that if the rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them ; and proving incorrigible may be deposed by the community as the superior power ; and that tyrants

may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishment. "The affinity," he adds, "between these and the political opinions afterwards avowed by Knox, and defended by the classic pen of Buchannan, is too striking to require illustration." However consistent these principles may have been with the religion of John Knox, who justified the murder of Cardinal Beaton and David Rizzio,—who deposed the queen-regent of Scotland, and embittered the life of her daughter by his insults,—we are not to be surprised at finding the conservative feeling of the nation excited against those who at first maintained them; or that when the innovators increased in number, the authorities in church and state should determine to act against them. They thought, by acting vigorously, to put an end to what they regarded as an evil. In those days it never occurred to any one that such an evil could be corrected except by a public execution. The same class of persons who a few years ago justified the custom of executing those who had been convicted of forgery, on the ground that whatever other good qualities they possessed, the welfare of a commercial country required their death, would, at the period now under consideration, demand for the same reasons the blood of heretics. Blood indeed was shed on all sides, catholics had recourse to legal executions, protestants to assassinations and murder, each party thinking the means to be justified by the end.

The first victim was Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, a Premonstratensian monastery in Ross-shire, who having learned protestantism from Luther and Melancthon in Germany, preached it with vehemence on his return home. He was tried, found guilty, and executed at St Andrews. But persecution has never answered the purpose for which it was intended, and as if to mark the divine disapprobation, the result always is, that it proves injurious to the cause it was designed to serve. This was seen to be the case by the religious as distinguished from the political catholics of the period, insomuch that in 1533, when a young Benedictine, Henry Forest, was condemned to

be burnt, one of the archbishops recommended that he should be burnt in a cellar, for, said he, "the smoke of Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew." The manner in which evidence was obtained against both Hamilton and Forest was infamous: they were both entrapped by pretended friends into a confession which was used as evidence against them; and in the case of Forest, this confession was made sacramentally, and in receiving as well as giving it for the purpose of condemning him, a principle of the Church was grossly violated. But Forest seems to have been a man of violent temper. When he was to be degraded he cried with a loud voice "Fie a' falsehood! fie a' false friars! revealers of confession: after this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word and deceivers of men." When they proceeded to degrade him of his orders, he said with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your orders, but also your own baptism."

James Beaton was a man of enormous wealth, and was described by the English ambassadors as "the man next the king, of the greatest substance both of lands and goods, and most esteemed for his policy and wisdom of others." He lived magnificently, and nearly succeeded in purchasing a cardinal's hat. When it is added that in private life he was licentious, it will be seen how much the Scottish church at this time needed a reform, and how natural were the feelings of indignation which the protestants exhibited, although those feelings hurried them to frightful excesses. He was not devoid of humanity, and the design of the new Divinity Hall at Aberdeen was conceived by him, though he did not live to execute it.

He died in 1539. With reference to his persecutions, it is said that he was very reluctant to have recourse to them, and acted rather as a conservative statesman than as a theologian, for, as Spotiswood observes, "he was neither violently set, nor indeed much solicitous, as was thought, how matters went in the Church."—*Spotiswood. Keith, Tytler. Lyons' Hist. of St Andrews. Crawford.*

BEATON, DAVID, nephew to the archbishop, of the same name, of whom an account has been given in the preceding article, was born in the year 1494, and was educated first at St Andrews and afterwards at Paris, where he greatly distinguished himself. He remained in France for some time after his ordination, and was at an early period employed by John duke of Albany. As David Beaton, like his uncle, was more a statesman than a divine, it will be unnecessary to do more than allude to the many preferments he held, and to refer the reader to Tytler's History of Scotland for an account of his administration and political intrigues. But we cannot refrain from again alluding to the miserable condition of the church in Scotland, when ecclesiastical preferments were thus used as the cheap means of remunerating a minister of the crown; nor let it be forgotten that this was done with the full sanction of the pope of Rome. When in 1523 he became abbot of Arbroath, the pope, dispensed with his taking the habit for two years, at the wish of the king, who desired his attendance in France. In the application made in his behalf, Beaton was styled protonotary of St Andrews, the king's domestic counsellor and servant, and chancellor of the church of Glasgow. He had been appointed in 1519 resident at the court of France, and at that time, being only in deacon's orders, he received from the archbishop of Glasgow the rectory of Campsay. In 1528 he became Lord High Privy Seal; and by his advice, it is said, James established in 1530 the college of Justice. In his various missions for political objects to France, he so conciliated the esteem of Francis I., that in 1537 the French king granted him a license to hold lands and to acquire benefices in France; and at the same time conferred upon him the bishopric of Mirepoix. On his return to Scotland he became coadjutor of his uncle the archbishop of St Andrews, and, owing to the infirmities of his grace, possessed all the power and influence which at that time attached to the metropolitan see. On the 28th of December, 1538, pope Paul III. raised him to the dignity of Cardinal in the Roman church, by the title of St Ste-

phen in Monte Cœlio. He was thus a Scotch archbishop, a French bishop, and a Roman cardinal. On the death of James Beaton, a few months afterwards, he succeeded to the primacy of the Scottish church.

As soon as he had been appointed to the primacy he determined to act vigorously against the reforming party. He was himself a man of licentious habits, a statesman, and even a warrior: he is said on one occasion to have challenged an opponent to single combat; he was secular in all his feelings; he cared therefore as little for religion as the mere political advocate of Church and state in the present day, although violent against all opponents. But the reformers in Scotland were radical reformers, and were prepared for revolution in the state, as well as in the Church: in England where, except during the short reign of Mary, the civil authorities were favourable to a reform in the Church, the leading reformers were inclined to pay a deference to the crown which must be considered by us excessive; but in Scotland, where an anti-reform government existed they were goaded on almost to frenzy, and were prepared for any revolutionary violence. Cardinal Beaton, therefore, as a politician, determined to put them down with a strong hand, and being a churchman also, was able to avail himself of the instrumentality of the Church. Accordingly he repaired to St Andrews attended by the earls of Huntley, Arran, Marshal, and Montrose; the lords Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, Somerville, Torphichen, and Seaton, and several other barons and men of rank; together with five bishops; and there, in May 1540, he held a visitation, at which, enquiry was made after heretics, and sir John Borthwick was condemned for contumacy. About the same time John Killor, a black friar, Duncan Simpson, a priest of Stirling, Dean Thomas Forret, vicar of Dalor and canon regular, John Beverage, black friar, and Robert Forrester, were condemned as heresiarchs or chief heretics and teachers of heresy. We are led to pity these sufferers the more, when we consider the state of the established church in Scotland at this

period. The bishops, of whom the cardinal was not the worst specimen, were most of them worldly men, thinking more of their own honour than of promoting God's glory ; the clergy, when ecclesiastical honours were not within their reach, were, with some honourable exceptions, seeking their comforts, and among them concubinage very generally prevailed : a fact which proved their sensual character, and tended to increase and perpetuate their demoralization. They were not permitted to be honourably married, and though they considered themselves to be so virtually, yet they felt that there was a stigma upon their character, and that they could not be accounted devout men, and so they fell into carelessness of living. That earnest minded men should be offended at this state of things is not to be wondered at ; nor is it surprising that from censuring the conduct of the clergy they should proceed to a protest against the many strange doctrines which had crept into the Church : as the first reformers were generally of the clerical order, it was the more natural that they should thus go to the root of the evil. By the bishops and leading persons in Church and state they were met with hatred and contempt, with misrepresentation and abuse ; and thus by degrees, those who commenced their career, like sir John Borthwick, who has just been mentioned, as very moderate reformers, were hurried on to the most unjustifiable excesses, and instead of seeking to reform the Church, joined in the infidel cry of " down with it, down with it, even to the ground."

Well would it have been for Beaton if his angry feelings could have evaporated in a mere visitation charge, or if the latitudinarian conservatives of the day had been contented with a censure of the reformers upon paper. He was unfortunately invested with arbitrary power, and arbitrarily did he use it. By the class of men who would in these days crowd Exeter Hall to hear a denunciation of the papists, consigning in their imaginations those from whom they differed to everlasting perdition, Beaton was in those days applauded. His course was approved by

the nobles of the land, until their influence was purchased by the reformers through the offer of the property of the Church.

Cardinal Beaton, like his uncle, though scandalous as a prelate, was nevertheless an honourable man of the world, and a lover of his country. In order to obtain and to preserve his political influence and station, he had recourse to all the arts of the politician, but the honour and independence of Scotland was ever near his heart. The reformers, and those of the nobility who from political considerations joined their party, were willing to hand over the government of Scotland to the king of England, who was intriguing for this purpose. It had long been a favourite object with Henry VIII to unite the two kingdoms under one of his own family : the immediate end aimed at by himself and his faction in Scotland was to effect a marriage union between his son, prince Edward, and Mary, the infant queen of Scots ; and he stipulated to have charge of the infant queen's person and education, and to be put in possession of the chief fortresses in Scotland, to enjoy the title of Protector of Scotland, with power to appoint a local regent to act under his directions. How any patriotic mind could consent to such a measure it is difficult to imagine : the cardinal was resolutely opposed to it, and the whole of his ministerial career seems to have been devoted to the frustration of the schemes of the English king. Cardinal Beaton had therefore in Henry a deadly and unscrupulous enemy. Henry the VIIIth had the more power as he was regarded as the patron of the reformation in Scotland, and as the reformers at all times looked for protection from him. The royal reformer checked the excesses of the reforming party in England as caprice might suggest, or sound policy dictate ; but in Scotland he gave the reformers his consistent support. In point of morals there was not much to choose between the illustrious reformer on the one hand, and the head of the Scottish conservatives in Church and state on the other,

but it must be admitted that Beaton never had recourse to such base and mean arts against his adversary, as Henry, to his everlasting disgrace, condescended to employ. Not only did Henry, through his minister, seek at one time to destroy, by misrepresentation, the influence of Beaton with his sovereign, but he entered at a later period into a conspiracy for his private assassination. The offer was made by the earl of Cassilis, one of the reformers, "for the killing of the cardinal if his majesty would have it done, and promise when it was done a reward." The king's answer to the earl of Hertford, through whom the proposal was transmitted, was, "that his highness reputing the fact not meet to be set forward *expressly* by his majesty will not seem to do in it, and yet not misliking the offer, thinketh it good that Mr Sadler," to whom Cassilis, in the first instance, made the offer, "should write to the earl," and say, that he had not thought proper to communicate the project to the king, but that "if he were in the earl of Cassilis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it," trusting that "the king's majesty would consider his service in the same."

The conspirators, as cautious as Henry, were not satisfied with this answer, and the plot was not immediately executed, though the assassination of the cardinal at no distant period was determined upon. Of those who were fixed upon to carry into effect this diabolical plot, some were personal enemies of the cardinal, seeking an opportunity of revenge, some were mercenary wretches, ready to execute any villany for money, and others were reforming preachers. Among the persons engaged in the plot, George Wishart, called by presbyterians "the martyr," was one; and there seems to be little doubt that Beaton was well informed of its existence. Wishart, besides his personal hostility to the cardinal, was under the

influence of excited religious feeling; he perambulated the counties of Scotland, denouncing popery and the bishops of the established church, under the armed protection of the principal conspirators, over whom he exercised considerable influence, and at whose houses he lived. From his knowledge of the conspiracy, and his acquaintance with the political intrigues of the day, he sometimes ventured to prophecy, and this he did with such accuracy, that many religious persons, who were moved by his preaching, regarded him as inspired. Under these circumstances, Beaton determined to have him arrested and tried on a charge of heresy, which he knew, as the law then stood, he would have no difficulty in substantiating. Accordingly, he prevailed on the governor of Scotland to send a troop of horse under the command of the earl of Bothwell, in the beginning of the year 1546, into East Lothian, where Wishart was staying with one of the conspirators. Two celebrated reformers were in his company at the time, John Knox and James Melville; it was suspicious company, for John Knox maintained the general doctrine that it was lawful to destroy tyrants, and the preacher Melville actually gave the fatal stroke to the cardinal. As soon as Wishart was secured, he was sent to St Andrews, and placed under the charge of the cardinal himself, who hastened his trial. The forms of justice appear to have been strictly observed at the trial, and Wishart, though the real cause of his death was his determination to assassinate the cardinal, since this could not be at the time substantiated, though we have now in our possession full proof of the fact, was condemned as a heretic. His execution as a heretic excited the compassion of the protestants, and disgusted many who had not avowed themselves such. He endured his sufferings with apparent composure and astonishing fortitude, being executed on the first of March, 1546. He was accounted a martyr to the protestant cause, till of late years; but now, when his share in the conspiracy has been fully proved, his name will probably be obliterated from the protestant

calender, except by those who consider that the end justifies the means however atrocious, and that we may do wrong that good may come.

Immediately after Wishart's execution, the cardinal set out on a journey to Tindhaven, for the purpose of marrying his daughter to the master of Crawford. The bride received a dower of a thousand marks sterling from her father, and the ceremony was performed in a style of uncommon magnificence. Although the cardinal was accused by his enemies of various intrigues, his daughter Margaret was his legitimate offspring, for he was married before he entered into holy orders, and by his wife, Marion Ogilby, daughter of the first lord Ogilby of Airly, he had several children. It was not probable that he would at this period have outraged public decency by celebrating with such magnificence the marriage of an illegitimate daughter. After the marriage, the cardinal returned to St Andrews, to strengthen his fortifications against another threatened attack of his enemy, king Henry VIII.

Meanwhile the conspirators were not idle. Either trembling for their own fate, or anxious to be revenged for the death of their friend Wishart, they resolved to delay no longer the accomplishment of their plot. Having succeeded in gaining admission into the castle of St Andrews, they murdered the cardinal on the 29th of May, 1546. The following is Tytler's eloquent account of the bloody deed :—" On the evening of the 28th May, Norman Lesley came, with only five followers, to St Andrews, and rode, without exciting suspicion, to his usual inn. William Kirkaldy of Grange was there already, and they were soon joined by John Lesley, who took the precaution of entering the town after night-fall, as his appearance, from his known enmity to Beaton, might have raised alarm. Next morning at day-break, the conspirators assembled in small detached knots in the vicinity of the castle; and the porter having lowered the drawbridge to admit the masons employed in the new works, Norman Lesley, and three

men with him, passed the gates, and inquired if the cardinal was yet awake? This was done without suspicion; and as they were occupied in conversation, James Melville, Kirkaldy of Grange, and their followers, entered unnoticed; but on perceiving John Lesley who followed, the porter instantly suspected treason, and, springing to the drawbridge, had unloosed its iron fastening, when the conspirator Lesley anticipated his purpose by leaping across the gap. To despatch him with their daggers, cast the body into the fosse, and seize the keys of the castle, employed but a few minutes; and all was done with such silence as well as rapidity, that no alarm had been given. With equal quietness the workmen who laboured on the ramparts were led to the gate and dismissed. Kirkaldy, who was acquainted with the castle, then took his station at a private postern, through which alone any escape could be made; and the rest of the conspirators going successively to the apartments of the different gentlemen who formed the prelate's household, awoke them, and threatening instant death if they spoke, led them one by one to the outer wicket, and dismissed them unhurt. In this manner, a hundred workmen and fifty household servants were disposed of by a handful of men, who, closing the gates and dropping the portcullis, were complete masters of the castle. Meanwhile, Beaton, the unfortunate victim, against whom all this hazard had been encountered, was still asleep; but awakening, and hearing an unusual bustle, he threw on a night-gown, and drawing up the window of his bedchamber, inquired what it meant? Being answered that Norman Lesley had taken the castle, he rushed to the private postern, but seeing it already guarded, returned speedily to his own apartment, seized his sword, and, with the assistance of his page, barricaded the door on the inside with his heaviest furniture. John Lesley now coming up, demanded admittance: 'Who are you?' said the cardinal. 'My name,' he replied, 'is Lesley.'—'Is it Norman?'—asked the

unhappy man, remembering probably the bond of man-rent. 'I must have Norman, he is my friend.'—'Nay, I am not Norman,' answered the ruffian, 'but John; and with me ye must be contented.' Upon which he called for fire, and was about to apply it to the door, when it was unlocked from within. The conspirators now rushed in, and Lesley and Carmichael throwing themselves furiously upon their victim, who earnestly implored mercy, stabbed him repeatedly. But Melville, a milder fanatic, ('a man,' says Knox, 'of nature most gentle and most modest,') who professed to murder, not from passion, but from religious duty, reproved their violence. 'This judgment of God,' said he, 'ought to be executed with gravity, although in secret;' and presenting the point of his sword to the bleeding prelate, he called on him to repent of his wicked courses, and especially of the death of the holy Wishart, to avenge whose innocent blood they were now sent by God. 'Remember,' said he, 'that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and the holy gospel.' On saying this, he repeatedly passed his sword through the body of his unresisting victim, who sunk down from the chair to which he had retreated, and instantly expired. The alarm had now risen in the town; the common bell was rung; and the citizens, with their provost, running in confused crowds to the side of the fosse, demanded admittance, crying out that they must instantly speak with my lord cardinal. They were answered from the battlements that it would be better for them to disperse, as he whom they called for could not come to them, and would not trouble the world any longer. This, however, only irritated them the more, and being urgent that they would speak with him, Norman Lesley reproved them as unreasonable fools who desired an audience of a dead man; and dragging the body to the spot, hung it by a sheet over the wall, naked, ghastly, and

bleeding from its recent wounds. ‘There,’ said he, ‘there is your God; and now ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses:’ a command which the people instantly obeyed. Thus perished cardinal David Beaton, the most powerful opponent of the reformed religion in Scotland—by an act which some authors, even in the present day, have scrupled to call murder. To these writers, the secret and long-continued correspondence with England was unknown; a circumstance perhaps to be regretted, as it would have saved some idle and angry reasoning. By its disclosure, we have been enabled to trace the secret history of those iniquitous times; and it may now be pronounced, without fear of contradiction, that the assassination of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart, but an act of long projected murder, encouraged, if not originated, by the English monarch, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary motives.”

It is lamentable to be obliged to add that the murderers of Beaton were not thought the worse of by the protestants, for the part they had taken against their common enemy. They received pensions from the royal reformers of England, Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; most of them rose to high rank in the army; John Knox, from his “merry account” of the transaction, and from his calling it a “*godly deed*,” evidently approved of the murder, and was probably privy to it: for he was domestic tutor in the family of the laird of Langnidding, one of Wishart’s protectors; he was the intimate friend and sword-bearer of “the martyr,” and subsequently joined the conspirators in the castle of St. Andrews. Besides this, the “Diurnal of occurrents in Scotland,” expressly states that John Knox “took pairt of the said treason.” Again, James Melville, as Knox himself tells us, “was familiarly acquainted with George Wishart,” and when he presented the sword to the cardinal’s breast, made use of these words,

“remember that the fatal stroke I am now about to deal is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate, cruel enemy of Christ and his holy gospel.” Alas, that the name of the Son of God should thus be blasphemed by an assassin, and alas! still more, that in the act of murder, the deceitful and desperately wicked heart should think it was doing God service. But even Fox, the protestant martyrologist, affirms that the murderers “*were stirred up by the Lord to murder the archbishop in his bed ;*” and the presbyterian historian, Calderwood, says, “the cardinal intended further mischief, if the Lord had not stirred up some men of courage to cut him off in time.” All this, says Mr Lyon, from whose learned dissertation (appendix, xlii.) these particulars are taken, “all this shows that in those times it was not unusual, even among men of high rank, and professing uncommon piety, to do evil that good might come, or to justify others in doing so.”—*Tytler. Lyon. Spotiswood. Keith. Skinner.*

BEAUCAIRE DE PEGUILLON, FRANCIS, was born April 15th, 1514, of one of the most ancient families of the Bourbonnois, and was one of the first gentlemen of his nation who applied himself to the study of literature. He was chosen by Claude de Lorraine, the first duke of Guise, to be preceptor to his son, cardinal Charles de Lorraine. He attended the cardinal de Lorraine to Rome, and on his return the cardinal procured for him the bishopric of Metz. It was reported that the cardinal retained the revenues of the see, though the report can only be traced to the imagination of certain calvinists of Metz, who could not otherwise account for the cardinal's resignation. The calvinists were alarmed on his arrival at Metz; and many of them, to escape martyrdom, fled from the town, to which they returned on finding that the zeal of the new prelate merely vented itself in two Latin tracts on “Sanctification” and “The Baptism of Infants,” which, as the majority could not understand them, the

calvinist leaders pronounced to be easily refuted. He was taken afterwards by the cardinal to the council of Trent, and it was before that assembly that Beaucaire delivered the speech which is to be found in his history of his own time. At the council of Trent a misunderstanding occurred between the cardinal and the bishop of Metz, the latter having given offence to the ultra-montane members of the council, by declaring that bishops received their authority immediately from God, and that they were not merely the pope's delegates, and that the pope's power is not unlimited. This is the catholic doctrine, but papists and presbyterians are, as regards the divine right of episcopacy, of one mind. He resigned his bishopric in 1568, and retired to the castle of Creste, his birth-place, where he spent his time in study till his death. He composed in his retreat a history of his own time, which was published in 1625, under the title, *Rerum Gallicarum Commentaria*, fol. Lyon. He also wrote a discourse on the battle of Dreux, 4to, Brescia, 1563, reprinted more than once, and a treatise *De Infantium in Matrum Uteris Sanctificatione*, 8vo, Par. 1565, 1567. The latter treatise was written in opposition to the tenets of the calvinists, who hold that the children of the faithful are sanctified from their mothers, a tenet which implies the denial of original sin, and of the necessity of infant baptism. He died February 14th, 1591.—*Moreri. Bayle.*

BEAUFORT, HENRY, was the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swinford: his character belongs to the history of statesmen rather than that of divines. He studied for some years at Oxford, but had his education chiefly at Aix la Chapelle, where he applied himself to the civil and common law. The corruptions of the church of England were at that time many and great, and the young ecclesiastic was in 1397 elected bishop of Lincoln in the room of John Buckingham, who was unjustly compelled to resign. In 1399 he became chancellor of Oxford and dean of Wells; in 1404 he was

appointed lord high chancellor, and the following year succeeded the celebrated William of Wykeham, in the see of Winchester. In 1417 he went to the Holy Land, and in his way attended the council of Constance, where he exhorted the prelates to union and agreement in the election of a pope: his remonstrances are said to have contributed not a little to the preparations for the conclave in which Martin III. was elected. He was ambitious to become a cardinal, an office always unpopular in the church of England, as binding the holder of it to a foreign church. Henry V. opposed any such appointment as long as he lived, but in the next reign, during the royal minority, he obtained the consent of the duke of Bedford, the regent. He received the cardinal's hat at Calais, in 1426, with the title of St Eusebius. On his return to England he was received with due respect, but by a proclamation in the king's name was prohibited from exercising his legatine power. The proclamation is as follows: "Whereas the most Christian king Henry VI, and his progenitors, kings before him of this realm of England, have been heretofore possessed time out of mind, with a special privilege and custom used and observed in this realm, from time to time, that no legate from the apostolic see shall enter this land, or any of the king's dominions, without the calling, petition, request, invitation, or desire of the king; and forasmuch as Henry, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of St Eusebius, hath presumed to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called nor desired by the king; therefore the king, by his procurator, Richard Caudray, doth protest, by this instrument, that it standeth not with the king's mind or intent, by the advice of his council, to admit, approve, or ratify, the coming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights and customs of this realm, or to allow and assent to any exercise of his legantine power, or to any acts attempted by him, contrary to the said laws." Such was the determination of our rulers, to maintain the liberty of our church, when, by the ambition of private prelates, it was

betrayed to the pope, even as in later years, from the same cause, it has been brought into subjection to the state.

In 1429 he was, however, appointed the pope's legate in Germany, and general of the crusade against the Hussites, or heretics of Bohemia, and he prevailed on the English parliament to make him a grant of money, with permission to raise a force of 250 spearmen and 2500 bowmen, to enable him to conduct the expedition. Even with these he was obliged previously to serve for a certain time under the duke of Bedford in France. He conducted the crusade in Bohemia with doubtful success, until he was recalled by the pope, and cardinal Julian was sent in his place, with a larger army.

In 1430 he crowned Henry VI. at Notre Dame, in Paris, and was at this period employed in various diplomatic affairs in France and Flanders, but finding that the duke of Gloucester was intriguing against him, he found it necessary to return to England. Among other articles of impeachment, which had been exhibited against him by Gloucester, we find one to be, that "the bishop of Winchester had not only taken upon himself the dignity and title of a cardinal, contrary to the express command of king Henry V, and in derogation of the church of Canterbury, but having forfeited his bishopric thereby, by the act of provisions, he had procured a bull from the pope to secure his bishopric to him, contrary to the laws of the realm, which made it *præmunire* to do so." The laws of the realm protected the liberties of our venerable establishment, which were, as we have seen before, too often betrayed by the ambition of individual prelates. The cardinal, however, prevailed over his opponents, and obtained letters of pardon from the king, for all offences by him committed, contrary to the statute of provisions, and other acts of *præmunire*. Five years after he obtained another pardon under the great seal, for all sorts of crimes, from the creation of the world to the 26th of July, 1437! This looks like a stretch of the prerogative.

The history of the cardinal from the time of his return to England, becomes little more than the history of his struggle with the duke of Gloucester, who died suddenly at Bury St Edmund's, in May, 1447. The cardinal survived the duke of Gloucester not above a month. The public feeling was in favour of the duke and against the cardinal, and Shakespeare has perhaps unjustly depreciated the cardinal, in order to elevate the character of "the good duke Humphrey." But there is no evidence of his having been, as was suspected, the contriver of the duke's murder, or of his being the covetous and reprobate character which Shakespeare has represented. On the contrary, we find that when Henry V, a little before his death, to meet the debts he had contracted by his wars, cast his eyes upon the wealth of the Church, and was advised to supply his wants out of the spoils thereof, the bishop of Winchester, to avert the evil, advanced him as a loan, twenty thousand pounds out of his own pocket, a prodigious sum in those days. If such generosity had existed in our own days, the confiscation of the Irish bishoprics and of the cathedral property, might have been averted. At all events, if he amassed great sums, the public, not a private family, was benefited. He employed his wealth in finishing the magnificent cathedral of Winchester, which was left incomplete by his predecessor; in repairing Hyde Abbey, since robbed and destroyed, in the same city; in relieving prisoners, and other works of charity. But as Dr Milner remarks, what has chiefly redeemed the character of cardinal Beaufort in Winchester and its neighbourhood, is the new foundation which he made of the celebrated hospital of St Cross. For the greater part of the present building was raised by him, and he added to the establishment of his predecessor, Henry de Blois, funds for the support of thirty-five more brethren, two chaplains, and three women, who appear to have been sisters of charity. The foundation still exists; but exists to the disgrace of our Church. It would be well to ascertain how the funds are applied, and whether

what was intended for charity, shall still be permitted only to enrich a master. While such abuses exist, we may not, for very shame, speak of idle monks. It appears, also, says Dr Milner, that Beaufort prepared himself with resignation and contrition for his last end ; and the codicil of his will being signed only two days before his death, may justly bring into discredit the opinion that he died in despair. He directed two thousand marks to be distributed among the poorer tenants of the bishopric, and forgave the rest all that was due to him at the time of his death. He left almost to every cathedral and collegiate church in England jewels and plate of considerable value, particularly to the church of Wells, of which he had been dean, 283 ounces of gilt plate, and £418 in money. It is but justice to record this of one who had suffered himself to be too much involved in the vortex of politics, and was often a prey to the passions to which politics give rise. —*Godwin. Milner's Hist. of Winchester. Gough's Life of Beaufort.*

BEAUMONT, LEWIS, was descended from the blood royal of France and Sicily, and was thus related to queen Isabella, consort of Edward II. He was made treasurer of Salisbury in the year 1294, and was advanced to the see of Durham in 1317, under circumstances which reflected great disgrace on the Church. The whole proceeding is one of those many instances to which we have frequently had occasion to refer, which shews how, during the middle ages, our excellent establishment was brought under the dominion of the popes, through the contests between ambitious ecclesiastics and unscrupulous sovereigns. “There were several candidates for the vacant bishopric. The earl of Lancaster made interest for one John de Kynardsley, promising, in case of his election, to defend the see against the Scots. The earl of Hereford pushed for John Walwayn, a civilian. The king, who was then at York, would have promoted the election of Thomas

Charlton, a civilian, and keeper of his privy seal : but the queen interposed so warmly in behalf of her kinsman, Lewis Beaumont, that the king was prevailed upon to write letters to the monks in his favour. Those religious, having previously obtained the king's leave to proceed to an election, rejected all these applications, and made choice of Henry de Stamford, prior of Finchale, an elderly man, of a fair character and pleasing aspect, and a good scholar. The king would have consented to the election, had it not been for the queen, who on her bare knees humbly intreated him that her kinsman might be bishop of Durham. Whereupon the king refused to admit Henry de Stamford, and wrote to the pope in favour of Beaumont. At the same time the monks sent the bishop elect to the pope's court for his holiness's confirmation : but, before his arrival, the pope, at the instances of the kings and queens of France and England, had conferred the bishopric on Beaumont. And, to make Henry some amends, his holiness gave him a grant of the priory of Durham upon the next vacancy ; but he did not live to enjoy it." According to the account of Godwin, it is not surprising that even so unscrupulous a pope as John XXII, should hesitate at the appointment. Of Beaumont it is related by Godwin that " he could not read the bulls and other instruments of his consecration. When he should have pronounced this word *metropolitica*, not knowing what to make of it, (though he had studied upon it and laboured his lesson long before) after a little pause, Soytpurdit (says he) let it go for read, and so passed it over. In like sort he stumbled at *In ænigmatē*. When he had fumbled about it a while, par Saint Lowys (quoth he) il n'est pas curtois qui ceste parolle ici escrit, that is, by Saint Lewes, he is to blame that writ this word here. Not without great cause, therefore, the pope was somewhat straight laced in admitting him. He obtained consecration so harshly, as in fourteen years he could scarce creep out of debt. Riding to Durham to be installed there, he

was robbed (together with two cardinals that were then in his company) upon Wiglesden moor near Darlington. The captains of this route were named Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby. Not content to take all the treasure of the cardinals, the bishop, and their train, they carried the bishop prisoner to Morpeth, where they constrained him to pay a great ransom. Gilbert Middleton was soon after taken at his own castle of Mitford, carried to London, and there drawn and hanged in the presence of the cardinals. After this, one sir Gosceline Deinuill, and his brother Robert, came with a great company to divers of the bishop of Durham's houses in the habits of friars, and spoiled them, leaving nothing but bare walls, and did many other notable robberies, for which they were soon after hanged at York. This bishop stood very stoutly in defence of the liberties of his see, recovered divers lands taken away from Anthony Beake, his predecessor, and procured his sentence to be given in the behalf of his church, *Quod episcopus Dunelmensis, debet habere forisfacturas guerrarum intra libertates, sicut Rex extra*, that the bishop of Durham is to have the forfeitures of war in as ample sort within his own liberties as the king without. He compassed the city of Durham with a wall, and built a hall, kitchen, and chapel at Middleton."

This bishop had a dispute with the archbishop of York, his metropolitan, concerning the right of visitation in the jurisdiction of Allerton; and whenever the archbishop came to visit, the bishop of Durham always opposed him with an armed force.

With reference to the decision of the judges alluded to in the quotation from Godwin, the learned editor of Camden's *Britannia* tells us that "the bishop of Durham antiently had his thanes, and afterwards his barons, who held of him by knights service; and that, on occasions of danger, he called them together in the nature of a parliament, to advise and assist him with their persons, dependants, and money, for the public service, either at home or abroad. When men and money were to be levied, it

was done by writs issued in the bishop's name out of the chancery of Durham; and he had power to raise able men from sixteen to sixty years of age, and to arm and equip them for his service. He often headed his troops in person; and the officers acted under his commission, and were accountable to him for their duty. He had a discretionary power of marching out against the Scots, or of making a truce with them. No person of the palatinate could build a castle, or fortify his manor house, without the bishop's license. And as he had military power by land, so he had likewise by sea. Ships of war were fitted out in the ports of the county palatine, by virtue of the bishop's writs. He had his admiralty courts; he appointed, by his patents, a vice-admiral, register, and marshal or water bailiff, and had all the privileges, forfeitures, and profits, incident to that jurisdiction."

Beaumont died at Brentingham, in the diocese of York, September 24th, 1333, leaving the character behind him of a worthless, avaricious, and prodigal prelate.—*Godwin. Wharton. Camden.*

BEAUMONT, JOSEPH, was born at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, in 1615. At the age of sixteen he went to Peter-house, Cambridge, where he took his degrees, and obtained a fellowship, of which he was deprived for his loyalty in the civil war. He then retired to his native place, and afterwards to Tatingston, with his wife, who was step-daughter of his patron, Dr Wren, bishop of Ely. At the restoration he recovered his preferments, was made chaplain in ordinary to the king, and obtained the degree of doctor in divinity by mandamus. In 1663 he was appointed master of Jesus college, from whence, the year following, he removed to Peter-house; with which headship he held the chair of divinity. He was a man of delicate constitution, as appears from his having been obliged to obtain from the vice-chancellor of Cambridge a dispensation to eat meat in Lent, because fish did not agree with him. This fact shews that Church discipline was at that time observed in

the university. He died in 1699. His works are—1. *Psyche*, a poem, folio, 1648; and again with additions, in 1702. 2. *Poems in English and Latin, with remarks on the Epistle to the Colossians*, 4to., 1749.—*Jacob's Lives of the Poets*.

BEAUSOBRE, ISAAC, was born at Niort, in upper Poitou, in 1659. He studied at Saumur, after which he was ordained, but his congregation being dissolved by the revocation of the edict of Nantes he retired to Holland, where he became chaplain to the princess of Anhalt Dessau. His first work was an attack upon the Lutherans, and was entitled, *Défence de la doctrine des Réformés*, in which he endeavoured to shew that Calvinism was quite as respectable in its origin as Lutheranism. He speaks strongly against the bigotry of the Lutherans, for condemning all who do not interpret the Bible in the sense of Luther. In 1694 he removed to Berlin, where he spent the remainder of his life, and exercised his ministry as one of the pastors of the French Calvinists, and also as chaplain to their majesties. He was besides counsellor of the royal consistory, inspector of the French college, and of all the French calvinistic churches. He assisted Lenfant to prepare a translation of the New Testament; the Apocalypse and the Epistles of St Paul were allotted to Beausobre. The notes are said to have a Socinian tendency; Calvinism, when becoming liberal, having always a tendency in that direction. He fell in love with a young girl, when he was seventy years of age, and either seduced her or suffered himself to be seduced by her. The familiarity was soon apparent from her pregnancy, and a marriage followed. The Calvinists prevented his preaching for four or five years, and he employed his leisure in writing a history of Manicheism. He died in 1738. *Chauffepie's Dict. Hist.*

BECCOLD, (alias BOCKHOLD, or BOCKELSON,) JOHN. This

leader of the anabaptists was born at Leyden, (and hence he is called John of Leyden,) and is chiefly distinguished by the part he took in the commotions excited at Munster, in 1533, by the Dutch anabaptists, who, says Mosheim, "chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations." The progress of protestantism had been such, that the senate of the city of Munster had driven away the bishop and his clergy, and supplied their places in 1532 with protestant ministers. The bishop had, in consequence, besieged the city, but eventually entered into a treaty with the inhabitants, by which it was agreed that catholics and protestants should live peaceably together, that the former should retain possession of the cathedral, but that six churches should be appropriated to the protestants. The treaty was signed on the 14th of February, 1533; and such was the condition of the city, when John Beccold, accompanied by John Mathias and Gerhard, another anabaptist, appeared there in the November following. Beccold's knowledge of Scripture was surprising, and no one could surpass him in the fluency with which he could quote it, and justify by scriptural authority all his proceedings. He entered the city determined to stand by the Bible only, and to maintain, against both Catholics and Lutherans, the right of private judgment.

When Beccold had prepared a party, Mathias, the original leader, appeared suddenly among them, and, blowing on them, said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." They were all of them excited to the highest pitch of fanaticism, believing now that they had received a commission from on high. Rothman, who had introduced the reformation into the city, at first opposed them, but afterwards joined the party, and such was its progress that the anabaptists soon outnumbered the Lutherans. They met at night, and converts were still crowding around the anabaptist teachers, not only in the churches but in the streets and the market-place. The magistrates in alarm commanded the leaders to quit the town; they went, but

almost immediately returned, declaring that God had ordered them to remain in the town, and to labour constantly to settle their doctrine there. In vain did the magistrates invite the anabaptists to a conference, they would not submit to any reasonable terms: Ruthus, one of the chief of their preachers, on the contrary, pretending, or supposing himself to act under divine inspiration, ran through the city, in December, 1533, crying out "Repent, and be baptized again, or else the wrath of God will fall upon you, for the day of the Lord is at hand." He preached with wonderful success, and the re-baptized assumed the title of saints. Peasants from different parts of Westphalia crowded to the town, regarding the anabaptist doctrine as the perfection of protestantism. The multitude took arms, and seizing the senate house, cried out, that "they ought to massacre all who were not re-baptized." The magistrates endeavoured to negotiate, but the anabaptists could not be bound by treaties, and the magistrates and chief inhabitants fled, leaving the town to the anabaptists. They elected a new senate and new magistrates, and, raising through the city the cry, "Repent, or depart this place, ye wicked," they drove away all who were not of their religion. John Mathias was now the chief authority, and Beccold, or John of Leyden, was his lieutenant. The houses were plundered, and Mathias commanded all the inhabitants, on pain of death, to bring forth all their gold and silver, into the public treasury, and to burn all their books but the Bible. He declared that the bible only should be the law in his new kingdom.

The bishop, assisted by the elector of Cologne and the duke of Treves, besieged the city, but was driven back, the defenders being some thousands in number, all animated by the most wild enthusiasm, and a full conviction that they, and they only, were the saints. But they sustained a loss in the death of their leader Mathias, during a sortie from the walls; a loss, however, which did not damp their courage, as Beccold was forthwith raised to his place, and by his powerful eloquence, soon

had them under his control. He had, as was believed, many revelations, and was regarded as a prophet; one of the tenets of the sect being, that every impulse from within was a movement of the Divine Spirit. Under the direction of a divine revelation, as he now pretended, after three days silence, he changed the form of government, and appointed twelve magistrates instead of the former senate; but the rule of the magistrates, though his own creatures, did not continue long, for the people, who had been taught that in the kingdom of grace all were equal, and that authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, was a tyranny, were astonished one day at being informed that the new Israel must henceforth be ruled by a king, and that as the Lord had raised up Saul, so had he raised up John of Leyden to rule his chosen people. It was perplexing, but the people could have no doubt about the revelation, for to one Tuscoschierer the same revelation was also made, and the two witnesses were of course received. Beccold had now passed through fanaticism to hypocrisy, and from licentiousness of intellect to licentiousness of conduct. Still maintaining that he had the authority of Scripture for all he did, he determined to use, and to permit others to use, the liberty which, as he blasphemously asserted, Christ had granted to his saints. He married eleven wives, and polygamy was allowed as not contrary to God's Word: he proved the fact to the satisfaction of the people from the Old Testament; and when a simple man suggested that it was less easy to substantiate the new law by the authority of the New Testament, he was put to death. And now, indeed, blood freely flowed, for as Beccold derived his authority from God, a word or look which was offensive to him, rendered the offender worthy of death. Sitting in the market place as judge, he decided every case according to his own caprice, pretending for each decision a revelation from heaven. If a poor woman, not quite convinced of the lawfulness of polygamy, complained that her husband had taken another wife; or if another concealed any portion

of those treasures which ought to have been sent to the common treasury; or if a wife was accused by her husband of disobedience—they were sent at once to the block, where hundreds suffered for offences such as these. Arrayed in splendid robes, with a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, the quondam tailor of Leyden sat on the judgment seat, protected by troops, and surrounded by counsellors clad in purple.

While Munster was besieged, the anabaptists published a book, “The Restitution,” in which they promised to the elect a kingdom hereafter with Christ, to be on earth, before the day of judgment, and after the destruction of the ungodly. They taught that the people had a right to depose magistrates, to assume civil authority, and to establish by force of arms a new form of government; that no man is to be tolerated in the Church who is not a true Christian; that none can be saved who retain any private property; that the pope and Luther were two false prophets, and (which, considering that they dated the origin of their principles to him, was the severest blow,) that Luther was the worst of the two; that the marriages of those who were not of the number of the truly faithful, were impure and so many adulteries: these they taught, with many other absurdities and abominations.

The anabaptists of Munster sent forth missionaries to preach this doctrine, and their success was great, while the enthusiasm with which they endured the penalties they incurred, when persecuted in the different towns in which they preached, as persons guilty of sedition, was worthy of a better cause. The protestant magistrates, though they had encouraged liberty of speech on religious subjects to a certain extent, had no idea of tolerating it in its extreme, and the anabaptist missionaries were soon seized, examined, and executed. But before they died, they did their friends in Munster irreparable, though unintended, injury: through them it was discovered that the anabaptists of Munster were in great want of provisions and ammunition, and the seige was prosecuted with

greater vigour. Beccold meantime was not inactive : he sent two of his prophets into Holland, where the sect was numerous, to procure reinforcements and provisions ; but of these one betrayed him, another suffered death, and a third went to the camp of the beseigers to consult on the means of surrendering the city where famine was raging, and many had become disaffected.

The landgrave of Hesse, in the mean time, had caused their book, "The Restitution," to be confuted ; and Luther, who perceived how this outbreak of ultra-protestantism would injure his cause, and strengthen the hands of the Catholics, sent to the anabaptists of Munster " a sharp book," in which he compares them to Jews and Mahometans. Several other tracts were written on both sides, by protestants, but nothing was determined.

At length the diet of Worms having granted fresh supplies to the bishop of Munster the city was taken, and Beccold himself was dragged at a horse's tail from the scene of his royalty to a dungeon in the castle. He endured his sufferings and died with wonderful fortitude. The city was taken on the 24th of June, 1535. Very severe regulations were made against the anabaptists at the assembly of Hamburg ; and the Lutherans, uniting with the Catholics in their opposition to this sect, it was entirely dispersed.—*Brand : Hist : Reform. Belgicæ. Dupin. Mosheim.*

BECKET, Thomas á, was born in London, according to Fleury, in 1117, or, according to Dupin, in 1119. His father was Gilbert, one of the principal merchants of London ; his mother was Matilda, a Saracen, with whom his father had become acquainted, when, having joined the crusade, he had been made a prisoner in Palestine. She was a convert and a devoted Christian, who paid much attention to the religious training of her son. On the death of his mother, he was placed by his father under the care of the canons of Merton, and afterwards continued his studies in the schools of the metropolis, of

Oxford, and of Paris. When his father died, he was admitted into the family of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and conducted himself so well, that he easily obtained permission of his patron to leave England, that he might improve himself in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. He studied at Bologna, and at Auxerre, having, in the first named university, Gratian for his instructor. On his return to England, he found some difficulty in maintaining his position in the archbishop's household, as Roger de Ponte Episcopi (Bishop's-bridge) a learned man, who was successively archdeacon of Canterbury and archbishop of York, had established an influence there, which was exerted against Becket, whose genius, however, surmounted every obstacle. Having received as his first preferment the church of Branfield, he soon after obtained prebends in the churches of Lincoln and St Paul's; he was collated also to the provostship of Beverley, and on the elevation of Roger to the see of York, he succeeded him in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, a preferment equal at that time to a bishopric in point of emolument, and scarcely inferior in the rank and influence it conferred upon its possessor. Becket was at this time only in deacon's orders; but no law at that time existed to prevent deacons from holding such high offices in our venerable establishment, the duty of a prebendary and of an archdeacon being rather to see that the services of the church are duly performed, than to conduct them: it is the office of superintendent, who is to report irregularities to the bishop.

On the removal of Roger from the archbishop's household, Becket became, young as he was, the confidential adviser of that prelate, and to his influence the public attributed the firm adhesion of Theobald to the cause of Matilda and Henry. This, doubtless, inclined Henry, when he ascended the throne, in 1154, to listen to the archbishop the more readily, when he recommended Becket to his notice; and the splendid genius, together with the courtly manners of the archdeacon, soon con-

ciliated the royal friendship. Becket was raised to the high dignity of chancellor, and was admitted to the fullest confidence of the king, who felt for him as a personal friend. In a subordinate situation Becket always identified his own interests with that of his patron, and devoted himself to his service, and the affection he evinced to his employer was returned to himself. This disposition is often found to exist in those who, when removed from a subordinate situation, are sturdy maintainers of their own privileges, and expect from others the homage they have themselves been accustomed to pay.

The chancellor was appointed preceptor to the young prince and warden of the tower of London; he received the custody of the castle of Berkhamstead, and the honor of Eye with the services of one hundred and forty knights. The pride of Henry was gratified with the ascendancy of his favourite, with whom he lived on terms of familiarity; and the chancellor, who is described as remarkably handsome, tall, but somewhat slight, and of a florid complexion, adorned the court as well by the elegance of his deportment as by the splendour of his talents. His equipage displayed the magnificence of a prince, and his table was open to every person who had business at court; a thousand knights were among his vassals, and every detail of his establishment indicated at once his splendour and good taste. He virtually governed the kingdom through the king. To him has been attributed every useful measure which distinguished the commencement of Henry's reign; he banished the foreign banditti with whom Stephen had filled the land, he caused the ecclesiastical patronage to be honestly and judiciously exercised, without simony; and in the foreign department, by his successful negotiations with the French king, he obtained for his master the cession of Gisors and five other important places. Various other important services he rendered to Henry and his country, for an account of which the reader is referred to the history of England. But one anecdote may here be mentioned, to shew the skill and tact with which he managed

the impetuous temper of Henry. The bishop of Le Mans had given offence to the king by accepting Alexander III as pope without permission. The king in his rage ordered the bishop's house to be destroyed, and couriers for that purpose were dispatched, but before their departure the chancellor directed them to be four days on the road, though the ordinary rate of travelling would have brought them to Le Mans in two. The next day, and the day after, he set the bishops and others to importune the king, and the third day he joined them himself; the king, supposing by this time that the episcopal palace must have been nearly destroyed, at last yielded to their entreaties, and the chancellor got him to sign letters to that effect, and sent them off by a private messenger, who rode night and day, and arrived just after the king's courier, in time to save the palace.

Becket was aware that he could not hope to influence the king and his warlike nobles, unless he proved himself to be as brave in the field as he was wise in council. We hear, at the present time, of dignitaries in the Church who are seen to partake of the fashionable amusements of a London life, and who justify themselves, and are justified by others, though censured by those whom they call "righteous overmuch," on the ground that by sharing in the amusements of the great and wealthy, they exercise a useful control over society. The apology is sufficient so far as it goes, that is, so far as this, and not his own amusement, is the real object of the individual so acting. But if the apology is sufficient for the prelate in this day, who attends or presides at the splendid and fashionable banquet, it is an apology which must be admitted in the case of the deacon Becket, when, with the same object in view, he placed himself at the head of 700 knights, and attended Henry in 1159, in the prosecution of his claims to Toulouse in the right of Eleanor, his queen: here he acted the part, not only of an able military commander, but also of an accomplished

man-at-arms ; for on one occasion he tilted with a French knight, whose horse he bore off as an honourable proof of his victory. On the same principle he became a judge of hawks and horses, and he must be pardoned, if, when he became a soldier and a sportsman, he occasionally entered too keenly into the chase, and forgot his ecclesiastical position in the enthusiasm of a warrior. He could be nothing by halves.

That Becket thus acted is true, and it is true that by so doing he shocked, and justly, the feelings of the more religious among his contemporaries ; but that in throwing himself thus into the court and camp he acted, whether mistakingly or not, on the principle just adverted to, is apparent, from the fact that though he appeared to others to have forgotten his ecclesiastical character, it was never forgotten by himself. That his conduct had always defied the reproach of immorality, when living even in the atmosphere of an immoral court, and in intimacy with a king who attempted to corrupt him, was confidently asserted by his friends, and, as has been well observed, is equivalently acknowledged by the silence of his enemies. In private he resorted to the modes of self-discipline then customary : the chancellor was at one time discovered sleeping not on his bed, but on the bare boards exposed to the cold ; and, according to Fitz-Stephen, “in the midst of his secular greatness and splendour, he used often to receive on his naked back the secret discipline of the scourge.” By the same contemporary historian we are told, that “amidst all the luxury of the court he preserved such perfect moderation that his rich table ever supplied a rich alms. I have heard from Robert, his confessor, the venerable canon of Merton, that while chancellor he never let luxury pollute him, though the king put snares in his way day and night.” The indignation which he shewed at an act of profligacy in one of his suite is sufficient to shew that he feared no retaliation.

The splendour of his equipage may be accounted for

as a necessary act of policy in that age, when external circumstances had much more weight than at present; although even now simplicity in the great is considered mean and offensive by vulgar minds. The effect which he intended to produce by his outward splendour may be gathered from the effect which upon one occasion it *did* produce. When he was sent by Henry to the court of France, to negociate with Louis, who had threatened to oppose the pretensions of the king to the earldom of Nantes, Becket, we are told, not only succeeded in his mission, but excited, by his magnificence and bearing, so much admiration, that the people exclaimed, "What manner of man must the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state." When such was the impression made by external magnificence, we must admit the wisdom and the sound policy of its assumption on the part of the chancellor.

Such was Thomas á Becket, lord high chancellor of England, a man endeavouring to serve two masters; or, perhaps, seeking to do his duty to the Church, in a secular employment, and thinking to advance the cause of God, not by simplicity of conduct and prayer, but by the arts of the politician. But the chancellor was soon to attain a higher office, and with it to present to the eye of the world an altered character. His first patron, Theobald, died, and the see of Canterbury became vacant. For thirteen months the politic Henry kept the see vacant, that the revenues might be paid into his exchequer. At the end of that time, when he could no longer with decency appropriate the revenues of the see, he sent for the chancellor at Falaise, and bade him prepare for a voyage to England, adding, that within a few days he would be archbishop of Canterbury. Henry had mistaken Becket's character. He regarded him as a mere worldling, who, provided his selfish interests were secured, would bind the English church to the will of the monarch. He had seen how the chancellor had controlled the lay nobility, and he expected him to exercise the same control over the Church

of England, and to render it subservient to his purposes. But, as we have seen, Becket was of that high class of mind, which, identifying itself with a cause, without rejecting the incidental advantages which may accrue to it, would willingly for that cause sacrifice self and every selfish interest. He knew himself and Henry, and he forewarned the king of what would be the consequence of his accepting the present offer; of the offence likely to be taken at the sudden elevation of one who had lived neither as a self-denying monk nor as a hard-working parish priest, but as a worldly-minded archdeacon, in a court not proverbial for its strictness. Pointing to his dress, he remarked with a smile, that he had not much the appearance of an archbishop; and with that tenderness, which, notwithstanding the vehemence of his temper when provoked, was characteristic of his disposition, he alluded to the almost inevitable disruption of the friendship between himself and his royal master. As chancellor he might influence the royal mind to good, when measures against the Church were designed; it would be his duty to remonstrate, not to oppose him; but as archbishop he would have, he foresaw, openly to oppose one who could brook no opposition. "I know of a surety," he said, according to the statement of Hubert de Bascham, "that if by God's providence this should happen, you will soon take your heart from me, and the friendship which is now so strong between us, will be converted into the most furious hatred. I am aware that you are going to proceed to some exactions, and that you already invade the Church's rights in a manner I cannot tolerate; and thus envious persons will go between us, and extinguish our attachment." From this it seems probable that he had already restrained the king in his designs against the Church, although, it may be, he did not always succeed in his attempt to do so.

Thomas á Becket at last acquiesced, contrary to his own judgment; the entreaties of cardinal Henry of Pisa, being added to the commands of the king, he sailed for

England. He was elected by the prelates, and a deputation of the chapter of Canterbury, assembled at Westminster; every vote was given in his favour; the applause of the nobility testified their satisfaction, and prince Henry, in the name of his father, gave the royal assent. He was ordained priest on Trinity Sunday, 1162, by the bishop of Rochester, and on the following day was consecrated by Henry, bishop of Winchester, assisted by thirteen of his episcopal brethren. Gilbert Foliot alone, then bishop of Hereford, and afterwards bishop of London, jeeringly observed, that the king had at last wrought a miracle, for he had changed a soldier into a priest, a layman into an archbishop. The advocates of Becket have regarded this as the sarcasm of disappointed ambition; but Foliot was a man of rigid morals, a devoted, laborious, and learned clergyman; and therefore, without any ambition, he might fairly express his disgust at seeing a mere man of the world, without one religious or professional recommendation, as Becket, at all events, appeared to be, elevated to a post of the most sacred importance, by worldly influence, and amidst the world's applause. Foliot never appreciated properly the character of Becket, and he retained his early and natural prejudices against him to the last; but by his contemporaries Foliot was regarded as the holier man of the two.

The good taste of Becket, to say nothing of his religious feelings, suggested an alteration in his establishment, when he removed to his episcopal palace; but there certainly did not take place that entire and sudden change in his habits, which has been spoken of by some historians,—and which even Lingard supposes to have occurred. His dress and his retinue, as Mr Froude remarks, were still remarkable for their magnificence, his table for its almost fastidious delicacy, his companions for their rank and intellectual accomplishments, his studies, for their political and philosophical, rather than their religious character; and the only change discernible in his pursuits

and manner of living, was such as the change of his rank and occupations would necessarily suggest to a refined taste. Two years after his consecration, we find his firm and tried friend, John of Salisbury, addressing to him the following letter: a letter which shews that he considered the archbishop to be very far from being a saint, though he certainly regarded him as a religious man. It is indeed remarkable how freely the companions and friends of Becket addressed him when he became archbishop. They seem to have looked upon him as one pre-eminently gifted, advanced to a high station in the Church, anxious to do his duty as a churchman, but often ignorant of what his duty was, and requiring guidance in a position so little in accordance with his previous habits. And he, conscious of his deficiencies, receives with a meekness not natural to him, and therefore the effect of divine grace, their friendly but free-spoken admonitions. John of Salisbury addresses the archbishop with the feelings of a paternal friend, who regarded Becket as ready to take the right political line with respect to the Church, but requiring direction as to his personal conduct.

“My advice to your lordship,” says this excellent man, “and my earnest wish, and the sum of my entreaties, is this; that you commit yourself with your whole soul to the Lord and to your prayers. It is written in the Proverbs, ‘the name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth into it, and is safe.’ In the mean time, to the best of your ability, put aside all other business; other things are important and necessary; but what I advise is still more important, because more necessary. The laws and the canons may profit much, but not for us under our present circumstances. Believe me, my lord, ‘non hæc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscunt.’ These things are better food for curiosity than for devotion. Your lordship recollects how it is written: ‘Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, Spare thy people,

O Lord.' 'I communed with my own heart,' saith the Prophet, 'and made diligent search'—'in the day of my trouble I sought the Lord;' thus teaching us that to cleanse and discipline the spirit is the way to ward off the lash of conscience, and to obtain for us the loving mercies of God.

"Who ever rose with a feeling of contrition from a study of the laws or even of the canons? The exercises of the schools, too, are more likely to puff us up with the pride of science, than to kindle within us any feeling of devotion. I would far rather see your lordship's thoughts employed upon the psalms, or on the sermons of the blessed Gregory, than intent upon this philosophy of the schools. Far better were it to confer on serious subjects with some spiritual person, and to warm your feelings by his example, than to dwell upon and discuss the subtle controversies of secular literature.

"God knows the sincerity with which I speak this—your lordship will receive it as seems good to you. Yet be assured that if you do these things, God will be on your side, and you need not fear what flesh can do unto you. He knows that in our present troubles, we have no mortal arm to depend upon."

There were two parties at this time in the church of England; a deeply religious party, at the head of which was Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, and a party which looked at the Church rather in its political than its religious bearing, at the head of which Becket now placed himself. In the latter party there were men of earnest piety, but their opponents, by representing them as mere men of the world, endeavoured to undermine their influence. We know that it was thus that Becket was represented to the empress Matilda: she was made to believe that, "from the time of his consecration, the persons he had kept about him were men distinguished rather for rank and talent than for religion; and that in disposing of his benefices, he looked rather to his own

service than God's; promoting men of notoriously low character."

He commenced his duties with his accustomed energy of character. In the spring of 1163 he attended the council of Tours, with several of his suffragans, and there he was received with marked attention: fifteen cardinals, with all the bishops who had arrived before him, went out to meet the primate of the church of England; and when the council opened, he took his place with his suffragans, at the right hand of the pope. At this time there was a schism in the papacy, Alexander III being acknowledged by the kings of England and France, and his rival Octavian, under the name of Victor IV. being received by the emperor. The council was convened, among other things, to confirm the election of Alexander, who had, at his election, the votes of seventeen cardinals, his rival having only three votes.

On the archbishop's return to England, he began to exert himself with great vigour, in defence of the rights and privileges of the church of Canterbury; for, besides prosecuting at law several of the nobility and others, for lands alienated from the see, during the civil disturbances of the last reign, he claimed from the king himself the castle of Rochester, and the honours of Hythe and Sandgate, which, he said, belonged peculiarly to the see of Canterbury. He moreover summoned Roger de Clare, to do him homage for the castle of Tunbridge, and sent a similar citation to William de Ross. Many more applications of a like nature were made. The general answer was, that they held under the king, and owned no other lord. There is little doubt that the claims were just, but the nobility were alarmed, and the king was irritated.

Although during the first twelve months after his consecration, the archbishop appeared to enjoy his wonted ascendancy over Henry, his enemies were many, and not inactive in insinuating suspicions of his conduct and designs into the irritable mind of the king. Becket, as

we have observed before, must have felt that although as chancellor he might either restrain the king, or else, as a friend, share in the odium, if, in spite of his attempt to restrain him, Henry persevered in an act of injustice, he could not act thus as archbishop: the archbishop would have to oppose each act of injustice, and if the act was persevered in, to let the world see that it was not connived at by him. He now therefore resigned the chancellorship. Henry remembered the warning which Becket had given him, and understood the resignation to mean that his interests might clash with those of the Church, in which case he was not to depend on the archbishop's support, and his angry feelings were excited. When Becket, after his resignation, first met the king, on his landing at Southampton, to quell the disturbances in Wales, it was remarked, that although they embraced, the eyes of the king were turned from him, and there was an evident coldness and restraint in his manner. As a fair act of retaliation, the king compelled the archbishop to resign the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury, which Becket had still retained, and which he certainly ought to have vacated before. It is said that the archbishop retained the archdeaconry to prevent its being conferred on Geoffrey de Riddel, an unworthy person; but when he was claiming all the rights of his see, the king was justified in preventing him from assuming more than was his due, and from holding the rich archdeaconry *in commendam*.

The hearts of the two friends were thus in fact alienated before that controversy commenced, which only terminated in the death of Becket. That which brought them into immediate collision, was a controversy relating to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

The Church is an *imperium* in itself, governed under its Divine Head, by officers of its own, independent of all civil authorities. Such an institution must be viewed with suspicion and jealousy by the government of any country in which it is planted, an *imperium in imperio*. The provincial governors, under the first emperors of Rome,

were perplexed and annoyed at finding in every city and province the Christian Church or the kingdom of Christ existing, with regularly constituted officers, holding concurrent jurisdiction with themselves, and convening provincial councils, in which laws were enacted without regard or reference to the civil authorities. The fear of excommunication from this spiritual kingdom was stronger than the fear of death. It is true that the people were instructed never to resist by force the government of the country, or the laws of the land ; but then there was a passive resistance, which was more provoking. If a law pronounced by the Church or spiritual kingdom to be sinful, such as the worship of idols, were enforced, the people were instructed, not indeed to rise up in rebellion against the iniquitous law, but meekly to submit to the penalty for transgressing it, whether that were the spoiling of goods or the loss of life ; and by this mode of resistance, every persecution was perceived to add to the Church's strength. Wherever there was a Roman governor there was a bishop of the Church ; and if the commands of the one and the injunctions of the other were not coincident, the spiritual ruler, not the temporal, was obeyed, and the latter found bonds, imprisonment and death, to have no terrors. The imperial government, in consequence of this state of things, gradually ceased to persecute, and perceived the policy of allying itself as closely as possible with this new kingdom upon earth, this fifth empire. But the Church, strong in the affections of the common people, was, in this alliance, the more powerful body of the two, and the alliance was formed, not by bending the canons of the Church to the laws of the heathen empire, but by giving an ecclesiastical tone and character to the imperial laws. In the laws of the Roman empire, the power of the Church is perceived.

But as time has gone on, the position of the two societies has been materially changed. The Church has now become the weaker body ; the state has, in every country, and especially in England, obtained such power that it

has tyrannized over the Church, and to the laws of the land the ecclesiastical canons have given place. As the time of Anti-christ draws nearer we must expect the alienation of the state from the Church to increase ; perhaps persecution will partially revive ; we know that when Anti-christ himself comes, persecution will be carried on so effectually, that the Church will be reduced to the lowest condition, in point both of influence and members. In the person of Anti-christ the state will triumph over the Church.

When such is our view of the destiny, as well as the history, of the Church, the struggle of Henry and Becket assumes a peculiar degree of interest, since it was the commencement of this struggle between the Church and the state. The relative position of the two bodies, which had so long acted together, and had almost become blended, was now imperceptibly changed. The king and the archbishop felt the change, but could not account for it. It was a change in the minds of men. Men had become discontented with the circumstances under which they were placed. In yielding to his own impetuous temper, Henry was, in fact, struggling to render the outward circumstances of his kingdom accordant with the changing tone of men's minds ; and in defending his own rights, and the authority of the Church, Becket resisted innovations, the end of which it was impossible to foresee.

With Henry we find that those proud statesmen, who feel that the Church is the great impediment to the march of liberalism, entirely sympathize. Becket has not been able to command the sympathies of Englishmen, because, while we can applaud his noble defence of the Church's liberties against the aggressors of the state, we perceive that he was, through ignorance of the real state of the case, prepared to sacrifice those liberties to the court of Rome. If he asserted his independence as archbishop of Canterbury against the king, we observe that he did not maintain his independence as a primate of all England against the

pope, but in his own person brought our church under the papal control. By the church of Rome he has been canonized: we may express astonishment at finding Thomas á Becket regarded as a saint, a character in which he did not appear in the eyes of his contemporary partizans and admirers; we may protest against his canonization for the mere fact of his having been murdered after conducting a struggle with the king, always with firmness and skill, but *not* always in a saintly temper. It is indeed admitted by an apologist for Thomas á Becket, the late Mr Froude, that the ardour with which he devoted himself to his noble enterprise, was not altogether such as to consist with the very highest frame of mind; there was an eagerness about it; a fiery zeal; a spirit of chivalry which excluded that calm unruffled quiescence which is the prerogative of faith—that entire indifference of consequences, which reason points out as the proper frame of mind for those who fight under the banner of the Invincible, who know that whether their efforts succeed or fail, His will is alike done. But if we may differ from the church of Rome in refusing to look upon Thomas á Becket as a saint, the truth of history obliges us to regard him as a great and good, though not a faultless, character; as one who resolutely maintained a principle, and under difficult circumstances acted with consistency and an humble trust in Divine Providence, and who, as his troubles increased and his prospect of success diminished, became a better and a holier man.

In the early part of the controversy, the consistency of Becket was, indeed, less apparent than in his management of it at a later period. Like many men of strong and determined character, his temper was kind and affectionate, and before he had confidence in himself, he was open to friendly influences, and in one or two instances yielded on points, where by yielding he offered an advantage to his opponents.

When the Church, according to the statement made above, was independent of the state, Christians were ex-

horted, on scriptural principles, to settle their differences by submission to the decision of their bishops or of persons delegated by them, and not to go to law with one another before the profane courts. This was the case during the three first centuries. When the empire, by becoming Christian, allied itself with the Church, it was obliged as the weaker body, to respect the laws of the Church; and the decisions of the bishops in their respective dioceses had the effect of law, though it was left to the option of the people to have their causes tried either in the imperial or in the ecclesiastical court. But as the influence of the Church over the state increased, the privilege, if it were so esteemed, as to choosing the court in which they should be tried, was withdrawn from the clergy, and every cleric was amenable only to the ecclesiastical tribunal. There was a distinction drawn at first between ecclesiastical and civil offences, but long before the time of which we are speaking; a clerical offender could only be cited before a spiritual judge.

For a time this arrangement worked well: a person injured by a cleric obtained redress, and the Church was not scandalized by an exposure of the irregularities of those who had been devoted to the offices of religion. But the court Christian could not condemn any one to death, while sentence of death was pronounced upon offenders for comparatively trivial faults, by the civil judges. So long as excommunication was considered worse than death, the terrors of the spiritual court were equal to those of the civil tribunal. But religion was beginning to grow cold, and though excommunication subjected the penitent to the most awful civil penalties, there was always a feeling that he might be absolved, and people began to complain that equal measure of punishment was not dealt to the lay and the clerical offender. Flagellation, fines, imprisonment and degradation, subjecting the offender for the next offence to the sentence of the civil court, were the modes of punishment resorted to in the "Courts

Christian:" and solitary confinement in the cell of a convent, with inadequate food for life, was considered by the ecclesiastical judges a severe sentence; but such was not the prevalent feeling among those who upheld the royal courts.

By the two courts not only criminal but civil causes were tried; and the ecclesiastical courts being conducted by men of superior education and learning, and being guided by the fixed and invariable principles of the civil and canon law, while the decisions in the king's courts depended upon precedents and written traditions, it was natural for men to draw into the ecclesiastical courts every cause which could by legal ingenuity be connected with the canons of the Church. So that between the two judicatures a rivalry existed, in which the king and his nobles felt a personal interest, as they obtained a principal share of the fees, fines and forfeitures, of the courts with which they were connected.

There was then on both sides much professional jealousy among the advocates of the respective courts; the bishops and dignitaries of the establishment were interested on the one side, the king and his nobles on the other; and though the people were on the side of the Church, as in the Church only they found protection and sympathy, yet the reference to the comparative impunity of the clergy in criminal cases gave some strength to the royal cause. In criminal cases indeed, as well as in civil, the powers of the ecclesiastical court had extended to every individual who had been admitted to the tonsure, (such persons as corresponded with our sextons, parish clerks, &c.) whether he afterwards received holy orders or not. But this extension of the ecclesiastical courts was the cause of their weakness in this controversy, for the number of offences was increased, and the difference in the mode of punishment more marked and offensive.

The king had another point on his side. Although the

spiritual courts in all the continental countries had a separate jurisdiction, it had not been so among the Anglo-Saxons: the limits of the two judicatures, the civil and ecclesiastical, had been among them intermixed and undefined. The bishop was accustomed to sit with the sheriff in the county court, and although even among them, the bishop was the sole judge of the clergy in criminal cases, and alone decided their differences, yet in many ways his ecclesiastical became blended with his secular jurisdiction, and causes which had in other countries been reserved to the spiritual judge, were decided in England before a mixed tribunal. This state of things was altered by William the Conqueror, who separated the two jurisdictions, and established ecclesiastical courts in every diocese, under the bishop and his archdeacons.

The reader will now see why Henry insisted so vehemently on the return to the "customs" or "usages" of the land, when making his attack on the ecclesiastical courts. He was, in all things relating to his feudal rights, prepared to follow the conqueror; but he sought to overthrow this part of his system, and under pretence of referring to the old customs, to enlist on his side the feelings of the Anglo-Saxons, although his real object was the destruction of the present state of things, not the restoration of the Church to its former position.

It will have been seen that the weak point in the case of the spiritual courts, related to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and on this point Henry determined to attack them. There had been some gross cases of clerical delinquency, to which public attention was called, and by which the king had been violently irritated, as he conceived that sufficient punishment had not been awarded to the offenders. He summoned a council of bishops at Westminster, and required their consent that for the future, whenever a cleric should be degraded for a public crime, by the sentence of a spiritual judge, he should immediately be delivered into the custody of a lay officer, to be punished by the sentence of a lay tribunal. The following

is the account of the proceedings of this council, given by a contemporary historian :

“ Concerning the origin of the misunderstanding between his lordship the archbishop of Canterbury and his lordship the king—

“ Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and count of Anjou, came to London on the first day of October, in the year of the Incarnate Word, 1163, and with him Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, Roger, archbishop of York, and their lordships the other bishops of England.

“ This assembly met solely or principally to recognize the claims of the metropolitan of Canterbury to the primacy of all England. Nor was any opposition raised except on the part of the archbishop of York.

“ When this was settled, the king of England laid before their lordships, the bishops, certain harsh proposals for which no one was prepared. In the first place he complained of iniquitous conduct on the part of the archdeacons, who, as he said, made a profit of other men's misconduct, by exacting, in lieu of the accustomed penance, sums of money, which they appropriated to their own use, and declared his pleasure that for the future no archdeacon should cite any offender, however notorious, without the consent of the civil magistrate. Then, proceeding to another point, he stated his anxiety to devise some means for the better preservation of peace and good order in his kingdom, and his regret at hearing instances of disorderly conduct among the clergy, several of whom were known to have been guilty of theft, rapine, and even murder.

“ ‘ It is my request, therefore,’ said he, ‘ that you, my lord of Canterbury, and your brother bishops, in cases like these, should degrade the criminal from his orders, and then deliver him up to my courts of justice for corporal punishment. It is also my will and request that on these occasions you should allow the presence of a crown officer, to prevent the escape of the criminal after his degradation.’ ”

“ His lordship of Canterbury wished to defer his answer till the following day ; but when this was denied, he retired with the other bishops, and the following discussion ensued :

“ The bishops mentioned that the world must obey the world's laws,—that degraded clergymen (clerics) must be given up to the civil magistrate, and suffer corporal punishment as well as spiritual ; nor could they see the injustice of thus doubly punishing persons who, as they enjoyed higher privileges than other men, when they abused these were doubly guilty. Nor was this only the world's law : the infliction of corporal punishment in such cases was sanctioned by Scripture itself, which sentenced offending Levites to mutilation or even death.

“ On the other hand, his lordship of Canterbury asserted that to visit a single offence with double punishment was alike unjust and uncanonical ;—that Scripture did not afford a precedent for it ; and that since the sentence pronounced in the first instance by the Church must either be just or unjust, unless the bishops would condemn themselves by calling it unjust, they could not admit an additional sentence to be just.

“ ‘ Moreover,’ he added, ‘ we must be on our guard against lending ourselves to any designs upon the liberty of the Church ; for which, according to the example of our great High Priest, we are bound by our office to contend even unto death. But ye have not yet resisted unto death.’

“ The bishops answered, that by sacrificing the liberty of the Church they in no way compromised the Church itself. ‘ Indeed,’ said they, ‘ such a course would rather tend to strengthen it. An obstinate resistance on our part can end in nothing but our own ruin ; whereas, by giving way to the king in this point we may retain our inheritance in God's sanctuary, and repose in the peaceable possession of our churches. We are placed in difficult circumstances, and the temper of the times requires of us large concessions.’

“ On this his lordship of Canterbury, being very zealous for the house of God, spoke as follows :

“ ‘ I see, my lords, that you disguise to yourselves your cowardice under the name of patience, and that on this pretext of concession the spouse of Christ is to be given up to slavery. And who hath bewitched you, ye insensate prelates? Why would ye mask palpable iniquity under this virtuous name, concession? Why do ye call that concession, which is, in fact, abandonment of the church of Christ? Words, my lords, should be the signs of things, not their disguises.

“ ‘ But,’ say your lordships, ‘ we must make concessions to the temper of the times.’ Granted; but not vicious concessions to vicious temper.

“ ‘ My lords, the cause of God is not so ill supported, as to require your fall that it may stand. Nor is the Most High at a loss for means to uphold his Church, though unaided by the truckling policy of its governors. Truly one would suppose that your lordships compassionated our Lord Christ, as though he were of himself powerless to defend His spouse, and stood in need of your ingenious devices.

“ ‘ Know, my lords, that this temper of the times is the very thing which constitutes your trial. When is it, I pray you, that a bishop is called on to expose himself to danger? Think ye that it is in tranquil times, or in disturbed? Your lordships will surely blush to answer ‘in tranquil times.’ Remember, therefore, that when the Church is troubled, then it is that the shepherd of the Church must expose himself. Think not, that if the bishops of old times were called on to found the church of Christ on their blood, we in these times are less called on to shed our’s in its defence.

“ ‘ I, for my part, (God is my witness,) do not dare to recede from that form of government which has been handed down to us from those holy fathers.’

“ These words of the archbishop were soon carried to the king’s ears; and straightway you might see all the

pillars of the Church to tremble as reeds before the wind ; nor did anything support them against the terrors with which they were threatened except the firmness of his lordship of Canterbury.

“ When the king found that in this instance his will was ineffectual, he immediately took different ground, and merely put to them the question, whether it was their intention to conform unreservedly to the usages of his kingdom ? His lordship of Canterbury answered advisedly, that he would conform to them without reserve as far as they consisted with the privileges of his order. The same question was then put to each singly, and the same answer returned by all. The king insisted that they should pledge themselves absolutely, without any exception in favour of their order. But his lordship of Canterbury refused to give further pledges, without authority from the vicar of Christ.

“ The king, therefore, was greatly troubled, and all Jerusalem with him ; and, going forth in the vehemence of his spirit, he departed at once from London, without arranging any business or closing any account.

“ On this you might perceive a murmuring among the laity,—confusion among the clergy. The bishops, in terror, followed after the king, fearing that before they reached him they should hear of a confiscation of all their goods, and soon after made an underhand arrangement with him, in which all mention was dropped both of God and their order. Indeed, so readily did they yield to his request, that their consent seemed to have been given even before it was asked, and those who had most influence seemed most willing to exert it against the Church.

“ In the meantime the archbishop of Canterbury sat apart by himself, looking to the right and to the left, but there was no man that would know him. He sought comfort among his brethren, but they had gone astray backwards, and now they walked not with him. At length, seeing the prosperity of the unrighteous, and the danger that hung over himself, ‘ One thing,’ said he, ‘ I have

spoken, namely, that I will not conform to the usages of this world where they interfere with the privileges of my divine order. For this I have incurred the displeasure of the king—for this I have been deserted by my brethren, and have offended the whole world. But let the world say yea or nay, never will I so covenant with mortal man as to forget my covenant with God and my order. God willing, be it far from me, that either the fear or love of man should make me indifferent to God. If an angel from heaven come to me and counsel me so, let him be accursed.' "

The king soon perceived that it would be the part of sound policy to form a party among the bishops, and to create a misunderstanding between them and the primate. He encouraged, therefore, the archbishop of York to insist on bearing his crosier in the province of Canterbury, and the bishop of London to refuse to profess canonical subjection. Clarenbald, abbot elect of St Augustine's, Canterbury, had also withdrawn his monastery from the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and when Becket insisted on his rights, these several parties appealed to the pope, and their respective claims were supported at Sens, where the pope then resided, with the king's money and influence. The cardinals were gained over; the pope was frightened: gloomy accounts arrived from John of Salisbury, from the bishop of Poitiers, and from Becket's private messengers. In short, the position of our church was at this time any thing but satisfactory; nor even when we admit the difficulties by which we are at present surrounded, by the opposition of the state to all true religion, can we think that our church was in better circumstances during the middle ages. We may here, also, remark, as we have done in former articles, how private interests and human passions were permitted to interfere, so as to bring the church of England more and more under the dominion of the pope. Henry, though hating the papal court, would submit to any concession, not interfering with his immediate objects, to carry a point, and Becket and his friends,

though free in their remarks on the venality, selfishness, and want of principle in the pope and his cardinals, conceded principles which entirely subverted the independence of the church of England.

Becket had early notice that he ought not to expect support from the court of Rome, on which he vainly, and as archbishop of Canterbury, improperly relied. "God," says the bishop of Poitiers, in a letter addressed to the archbishop, "who has given you courage to begin, will also give you constancy to persevere, if not with success, yet with a consummation still more devoutly to be wished. But as to human assistance, you will look in vain to the court of Rome, for any support against the king." After recounting the difficulties to which Becket was exposed, the good bishop proceeds, "wherefore, my beloved father and lord, in all that you resolve upon, you must look solely to the will of God, and to the interests of that church over which God has appointed you. This must be your only consolation, your only hope." Becket's private messenger, one Magister Henricus, writes to him thus :

"At Soissons, the king of France received myself and my charge with evident pleasure, and at once despatched the prior of St Mard of Soissons with letters to the pope. The prior is a man of great weight and discretion, and was charged with other matters respecting your lordship, more important than the king could trust his secretary to write.

"On taking my leave, his majesty took my hand in his own, and pledged himself, on the word of a king, that if chance ever brought your lordship to his dominions, he would receive you neither as a bishop nor an archbishop, but as a brother sovereign. The count of Soissons too assured me most solemnly, that he would consign to your lordship's use the whole revenues of his earldom, and that if I would return from Sens his way, he would send you a letter to that effect.

"Having finished my business at Soissons I hastened to court, in the prior's company, through the estates of

count Henry. The way was shortest, and my companion was a guarantee for my safety. Two days before I had access to the pope's presence, the prior delivered the king's letters, and the commission with which he had been entrusted by word of mouth.

“ At length I was admitted. His holiness, on receiving me, sighed deeply, and betrayed other signs of dejection. He had already heard all that took place in the council,—the persecution of the Church, your lordship's firmness, which of the bishops stood by you, how he went out from among you who was not of you, the sentence passed upon the cleric; indeed, every thing that had been done most secretly was known, before my arrival, to the whole court, and even talked of in the streets. A secret interview was then granted to me, in which I laid before his holiness the several heads of our memorial. He, on his part, praised God without ceasing for vouchsafing to his Church such a shepherd. Indeed, the whole court loudly extols in your lordship that courage in which itself is so lamentably deficient. As for themselves, they are lost in imbecility, and fear God less than men. They have just heard of the capture of Radicofani, and in it of the pope's uncle and nephews. Other castles too, belonging to the fathers of certain cardinals, have surrendered to the Germans. Besides this, John de Cumin has now been a long time at the emperor's court, and count Henry absents himself from the pope's presence, and no messenger has of late arrived from the king of England, and other concurring events have so terrified them that there is no prince whom they would now dare to offend, and least of all the king of England; nor would they, if they could, raise a hand in defence of the Church which is now in danger in all parts of the world. But of this enough.

“ What has been the success of your lordship's petitions you will doubtless hear from the prior, and from the bishop of Poitiers, who, by the grace of God, arrived here the day before myself, and has laboured in your lordship's cause with most friendly zeal. His

holiness declines *altogether to offend the king*, and has written to the archbishop of York in a tone rather hortatory than commanding. However, he will send over a brother of the temple to mediate between your lordships on the subject of the cross, and to settle any dispute that may arise in the interim. In the mean time the archbishop of York is not to carry the cross in your diocese; this we obtained by dint of perseverance. To the bishop of London he has written in the same strain; but the only effect of the letter will be to make his pride insolent. Indeed the pope feels this, and sends your lordship a copy of the letter, that you may judge for yourself whether to forward or retain it. As to the profession, his lordship of Poitiers has debated it with the pope repeatedly, and we have at last obtained a promise that if, on being demanded, it is formally refused, then his holiness will extort it. The bishop will explain this in his second letter: the subscription will distinguish the second from the first. In the matter of St Augustine's we can obtain nothing. The pope asserts that he has himself seen grants of his predecessors, which he cannot revoke, securing the privileges now claimed by the convent.

"Lastly, on our requesting that his holiness would send your lordship a summons to appear before him, he answered with much apparent distress, 'God forbid! rather may I end my days than see him leave England on such terms, and bereave his church at such a crisis.'

"May God preserve your lordship in all your ways. At Clairvaux, Cisteaux, and Pontigni, by the pope's request, prayer is made daily for yourself and your church. May my lord inform me shortly how he fare, that my spirit may be consoled in the day of its visitation."

In a similar strain wrote John of Salisbury, the archbishop's constant friend: having informed him of what was taking place at Paris, and then with reference to his intended journey to Sens, the papal residence, he says:

"Yet what to do when I am there I scarcely see. Many things make against you and few for you. Great

men will be arriving there—profuse in their presents, against which Rome never was proof—backed not only by their own power, but by that of a king, whom no one in the court dares offend. Besides, they are protected by grants from the church of Rome, which, in a cause like this, neither regards bishop nor friend. In this very cause, his holiness has from the first opposed us—and ceases not to find fault with what was done for us by Adrian, that friend of the church of Canterbury, whose mother still lives among you, penancing herself with cold and hunger.

“We then, humble and poor, and with no grants to protect us, what shall we have but words to offer to these Italians? But they have well studied the lesson of their poet, ‘not to pay a price for promises.’”

“Your lordship writes, that, as a last step, if all other resources fail us, I am to promise 200 marks. But our adversaries, rather than lose their object, would pay down 300 or 400.

‘Nec si muneribus certes, concedet Iolas.’

“And, truly, I will answer for the Italians, that in consideration of the love they bear his majesty, and of their respect for his messengers, they will consent rather to receive a great sum than to expect a small one.

“And yet in some respects they side with your lordship, because you are troubled for the liberty of the Church; though here too the king’s apologists and your lordship’s rivals endeavour to undermine your cause, attributing your conduct rather to rashness than to spirit; and to back their insinuations, they hold out hopes to the pope (*venas hujus susurri jam audiit auris mea*) that he will be invited to England, and that the coronation of the king’s son is delayed till the apostolical hand can consecrate him—and your lordship must know the Italians have no objection. There are some who already insult us with the threat that his holiness will take possession of the church of Canterbury, and remove your lordship’s candlestick.

However, I do not believe that as yet such a thought has been conceived by his holiness, for I hear that he is really grateful for your constancy.

“Yet one thing I am sure of, that when Lisieux is come, there is nothing which he will hesitate to assert. I know him well, and have tasted his wiles. As to the abbot, who can doubt about him ?

“I have just learned from the bishop of Poitiers, that he can obtain nothing for you against the abbot of St Augustine’s, though he has laboured hard for it. I will go, however, God willing, since your lordship commands it, and will try what I can effect. If I fail, let it not be imputed to me ; for as the poet has said—

‘Non est in medico semper relevetur ut æger,
Interdum docta plus valet arte malum.’ ”

In the mean time, the pope had written Becket a common-place letter, dated Sens, Oct. 26, 1163, in which there is nothing worth notice except the concluding advice, “that Becket should at once return to his diocese, dismiss all his retinue except such as were absolutely necessary, and then move rapidly from place to place.”

He also wrote another letter to Gilbert, dated Sens, November 9th ; just such as Becket’s messenger describes it—full of flattering expressions and gentle admonitions.

When we add to all this, that the abbot of Eleemosyna was, as he represented, sent to England from the pope to press on Becket the inexpediency of persisting in a fruitless opposition, we cannot be surprised at hearing that the archbishop was persuaded to go to the king at Woodstock, where he made promise of obedience to the customs without the obnoxious clause. By the king, of course, the humbled primate was graciously received, and a council was summoned to meet at Clarendon, to discuss the differences between Church and state.

The council met at Clarendon on the 5th of January, 1164. The king gave proof of his intention to humble

the archbishop yet further, by appointing John of Oxford, a man most obnoxious to the archbishop, to preside, who, by his angry manner and threatening tone, chafed the temper of Becket, and excited his suspicions. Henry took his seat and called upon the bishops to fulfil their promise. The primate was now roused and expressed a design of receding from his engagement. At this Henry's rage was extreme; in the eyes of the council it bore the appearance of phrenzy. He menaced banishment and death. Those bishops who had not yet forsaken the primate crowded around him and implored him to relent, as his person, the safety of the clergy, and their own lives, were at stake; the door of the next apartment was thrown open, and discovered a body of knights with their garments tucked up and their swords drawn. Robert, earl of Leicester, and Reginald, earl of Cornwall, came to him and told him that the king had commanded them to use force if he did not yield to the royal will; "though the event," they said, will, we know, "bring infamy on him and on ourselves." Sacrificing his own judgment to their entreaties, the primate relented; he signified that he would obey the king's will, and promised, "on the word of truth, that he would observe the ancient customs of the realm." The bishops made the same solemn promise. But then came the question, What are the customs? and strange to say, they were unknown. It was so preposterous to call upon the bishops to swear to observe customs, the very nature of which was unknown, that a committee was formed to draw them up, and at the suggestion of the archbishop the court adjourned till the following day. The meeting was resumed the next morning, and a list of customs was prepared. They are now styled the constitutions of Clarendon; they are sixteen in number; it will not be necessary to state them at length, but the following clauses are those which were most in controversy, and which were afterwards selected by Becket for special condemnation

1. "That no bishop may excommunicate any tenant of the crown without the king's license.

2. "That no bishop may imprison any inhabitant of his diocese for perjury, or breach of faith.

3. "That clerics shall be subjected to lay tribunals.

4. "That laics, whether the king or others, may interfere in questions concerning tithes or presentations to benefices.

5. "That appeals, for whatever causes, to the see of Rome, shall not be lawful, except with permission from the king, or his officers.

6. "That no archbishop, nor bishop, nor any other dignitary, may attend a summons from the pope, without the king's license."

The primate retired from this council an humbled and defeated man. He does not appear to have recovered his resolution immediately. On the first of March the pope certainly had under his consideration a request from the English clergy, to which Becket was a party, soliciting his assent to the acts of Clarendon. When Henry's ambassadors arrived at Sens to back this request, they found that the pope was for once prepared to act with resolution. Though on all former occasions he was afraid to support the archbishop against the king, yet he was now unwilling to take a decided part with the latter. Like other weak men, the pope seems to have determined on steering a middle course between the contending parties; or rather on observing a strict neutrality, and allowing events to shape their course for themselves. But Becket had now time and opportunity to discover that if he persevered in his opposition to the king, he would not be without support: that it was only through fear and policy that the pope and cardinals had refrained from declaring themselves in his favour. He felt himself degraded: and his conscience reproached him for having acted contrary to his own judgment, in deference to the wishes of others. There were not wanting many among his friends to pity, if not to reproach him, for his weakness. On the first of

April, it was known at Sens that he had suspended himself from all his clerical functions ; and on that day Alexander wrote to him a letter of consolation and remonstrance, assuring him that his fall had been a pardonable one, and his penance unnecessarily severe. Soon after, the pope sent the archbishop of Rouen to endeavour to effect a reconciliation between the king and Becket. But Henry would listen to no terms, unless the constitutions of Clarendon were confirmed by a papal bull. This condition being refused, Henry made a request that Roger, archbishop of York, should be made the pope's legate for all England: a direct attack upon the jurisdiction of Becket, to which Alexander refused to lend himself; though he showed his readiness to bend to circumstances almost as much as the enemies of the Church could desire, by offering to make the king himself his legate: an offer which was rejected, because it was clogged with a proviso that his highness should do nothing to the prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury; but the offer shews how ready the popes have been to sacrifice the principles of the Church to notions of expediency. Pressed beyond measure by the angry temper of the king; befriended with a cold and vacillating support from the pope; and deserted, day by day, by his former friends, who preferred the favour of the court to the service of an obnoxious prelate, Becket sought peace and safety in a retreat to France; but even the crew of the vessel in which he sailed were not too obscure to trim their sails to the prevailing breeze of court favour; and they earned the thanks of the king, by returning with the archbishop before they had reached the opposite shore.

Henceforth the controversy assumes a new shape: the ruin of one man occupied the mind of the powerful sovereign; and Becket regarded himself as representing the independence of the Church, and as called upon to exert all the energies of his mind in that cause.

The king's conduct towards Becket was as mean as it was vindictive. He ceased from his attack upon the

Church to render more certain his attack upon the archbishop. In the October of 1164 the primate was cited to a great council in the town of Northampton, at which John of Oxford presided, and the king was prepared to prosecute his enemy, having decreed beforehand the punishment of bodily mutilation to any who should not bring in Becket as guilty of the charges he was about to prefer. The king proceeded from small to the greater charges, as by a climax. The nobles and prelates being seated, he charged the archbishop with not having done justice in his court of Canterbury, to John, the mareschal of his exchequer, and with not appearing in the king's court, when cited on the appeal of the said servant of the crown. The archbishop satisfactorily explained the case, and declared that his non-appearance when cited was no act of contempt, but occasioned by illness, and that two of his knights had waited on the court with his apology. Regardless of every plea, the king swore with an intemperate fury, that judgment should pass and justice be done him. The obsequious court yielded to the royal will, and condemned Becket as guilty of contumacy, for having disobeyed his liege lord, to whom he had sworn fealty and the observance of his earthly honour, and they decreed all his goods and chattels to be at the "mercy of the king:" a legal expression, to denote the forfeiture of all personal property, unless the king chose to accept a smaller fine. Custom had in each county fixed the amount of this fine: the customary fine in Kent was forty shillings, but Becket was made to commute the penalty for five hundred pounds, equal to more than seven thousand pounds of our money. The readiness with which Becket promised to pay the money and found sureties, as if not condescending to dispute with his sovereign about money, seems only to have exasperated the king. The next morning the king required him to refund three hundred pounds, which he had received as warden of Eye and Berkhamstead: "more than that sum," an-

swered the primate, "I expended on these castles and on the royal castle at London, as the repairs themselves do shew. But money shall be no ground of quarrel between me and my sovereign. I will pay the sum." And he immediately gave security, thus in fact trampling over the royal spite. Another demand was made, in the hope of bringing the quarrel to bear on mere money transactions, of five hundred pounds, received by the chancellor before the walls of Toulouse. The archbishop asserted that the money was given, not lent. But as Henry maintained that it was a loan, the court decreed that repayment should be made, on the principle, that the word of the sovereign was preferable to the word of a subject; the king's English subjects not having arrived at the conclusion of his foreign allies, that he was the greatest "liar" in Christendom. Thomas a Becket shewed by his manner that he was not to be crushed or even irritated by such paltry proceedings, but on the third day he did stand aghast at hearing the king require an account of all the receipts from the vacant abbeys and bishoprics which had come into his hands during his chancellorship: and it was sufficiently apparent that Henry would respect neither law nor equity in his proceedings, when he estimated the balance due to the crown at the enormous sum of forty-four thousand marks. The archbishop declared that he was not bound to answer, for that at his consecration both prince Henry and the earl of Leicester, the justiciary, had publicly released him from all similar claims. It matters little whether Becket could have substantiated this assertion, for his recent elevation to the see of Canterbury, with the omission to place any such debts on record until it become convenient to do so in order that the prelate, since become obnoxious, might be crushed by their weight, was a sufficient moral release. He asked for leisure to consult with his fellow bishops. The request was complied with, and he withdrew with the bishops into a separate chamber.

It was evident that the king's intention in bringing the last charge against the archbishop was to force him to a resignation of his see. Indeed, so intricate and extensive must have been the accounts he demanded, and so uncertain the claim, that the reimbursement of any sum might have been required. The revenues of the see of Canterbury were not equal to the discharge, and no sureties could be found. The bishops, with the exception of Henry of Winchester, advised a resignation. Besides the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Chichester, and Exeter, addressed the archbishop; the bishop of Worcester excited a smile in the assembly, when, with pompous self-complacency he said, "I wish to give no opinion; because should I say that the cure of souls ought to be resigned when the prince wills it or threatens, I should speak against my own conscience, and belie my heart. If I say the king should be opposed, there are those present who are devoted to him who will make their report. I shall be ranked in future with his enemies and be condemned. Therefore I waive all decision, and give no advice." The bishop of Worcester, though a weak and ignorant man, was nevertheless not wanting in worldly cunning, and Becket knew that he uttered what was felt by many around him, though they possessed the prudence, which the bishop of Worcester wanted, to conceal their feelings. He therefore asked for a respite till the morrow, as those to whom his cause was best known were not with him, and his request was granted.

The following day was Sunday, and the archbishop finding that the knights and others who till now had attended his person, came not near him, apprehensive of the fate which threatened him, ordered the poor of the neighbourhood to be collected and seated at his table. "By these," he said "I shall obtain an easier victory, than by those who have shamefully deserted me in the hour of danger." But though nothing could intimidate him, the anxiety of his mind was proved by an indisposition which confined him to his chamber on the Monday. His spirit, however,

was roused by an intimation he received that if he appeared in court his destruction or imprisonment was resolved upon. On the Tuesday he rebuked the prelates who had again exhorted him to submit without reserve to the king's pleasure, and then proceeded to St Stephen's church, where he solemnized the Holy Eucharist, which he felt to be the most effectual support in the difficulties by which he was surrounded: nor did he neglect the especial comfort of the service for the commemoration of the proto-martyr in which the passage occurs, "The princes sat and spoke against me."

He had now determined to bring back the controversy to its original state, a dispute between the king and the Church, and therefore he attended the council arrayed in his pontifical robes, and bearing in his hand the archiepiscopal cross, thereby signifying that it was not in his character as a subject, but in that of a prince of the Church, that he appeared before the council. As the king's object was to crush a subject, he was exasperated beyond bounds when he heard that Becket was thus approaching, and he retired with the barons into a neighbouring chamber, where they were soon after joined by the bishops. The king knew not how to proceed till some of the bishops proposed to cite their primate before the pope, and procure his deposition. The advice pleased the king, and "the arrogant and frothy" bishop of Chichester was commissioned to address the archbishop in the name of his brethren: "You were our primate," said he, "but by opposing the royal customs, you have broken your oath of fealty to the king; a perjured archbishop has no right to our obedience. From you, then, we appeal to the pope, and summon you to answer us before him." "I hear you," was the archbishop's reply.

His proud spirit would not condescend to notice the attack further, but he was roused to speech, when the bishops, having gone over to the opposite seats, the door of the inner room opened, and the barons, with a great crowd, headed by the earls of Leicester and Cornwall,

approached the primate, who was addressed by the earl of Leicester: "The king orders that you appear before him to answer to his charges, as you promised, or else hear your sentence." "My sentence!" cried the primate, rising from his seat: "Yes, sir earl, but do you hear first;—You well know, my son, with what friendship and with what fidelity I served my lord the king. On that account, it was his pleasure that I should be promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, God knows, against my own will. For I knew my own incapacity; and I acquiesced, not so much for the love of God, as for his love. This is sufficiently evident, since God to day withdraws Himself and the king from me. At my election, in the presence of prince Henry, who had received orders from his royal father, it was asked, in what condition I was given to the Church? when answer was made; *free and discharged from every bond of the court.* But if free, I cannot now be bound to answer to those things, from which I was then discharged; nor will I." "This," observed the earl, "is different from what, the other day, was reported to the king." The primate proceeded: "Still listen, my son. As much as the soul is superior to the body, by so much it is your duty to obey God and me, rather than an earthly monarch. Neither law, nor reason permits, that a child judge or condemn his parent. Wherefore, I decline the tribunal of the king and his barons, submitting myself, under God, to the judgment of our lord the pope, to whom, in the presence of you all, I now appeal. The church of Canterbury, my order and dignity, with all that pertains to them, I commit to God and the protection of the holy see. And you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, who have preferred the obedience of man to that of God, I cite you to the presence of our lord the pope. Thus guarded by the power of the Catholic Church and the apostolic see, I retire hence."

The solemn address was taken to the king; and the primate turned round to leave the hall. As he passed

through the crowd he was insulted ; and some called out, that he retired like a perjured traitor. Looking sternly at the revilers, he said : “ Did the sacredness of my character permit it, I would by arms defend myself against that charge of perjury and treason.” The outer gate was locked ; but one of his attendants perceived the keys on the wall, and opening the door, they went out ; and amidst the acclamations of the clergy and people, congratulating him on his delivery, and a crowd of beggars, he reached the convent where he lodged. In the evening, the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, and Rochester, who were attached to the primate, waited on the king, in his name, requesting that he might be permitted to quit the realm. “ To-morrow, replied Henry, “ I will lay his request before the council.” But at night-fall, two noble-men, whose solemn asseverations could not be doubted, informed the archbishop, that certain persons of high rank had conspired against his life, who were mutually pledged to perpetrate their design. This, it seems, determined him to attempt an immediate escape ; wherefore, ordering a couch to be prepared in the church, as if he meant to take sanctuary there, before midnight, attended by two monks and a servant, he left the convent, and soon afterwards the walls of Northampton, passing northward through a gate which was left unguarded. It was Tuesday, the 16th of October.

After fifteen days of peril and adventures, he landed at Gravelines, in Flanders. His first visit was paid to the king of France, who received him with marks of veneration ; his next to pope Alexander, who kept his court in the city of Sens.

To the pope, all parties in our Church, king, prelates, and primate, had appealed ; all were doomed to discover, that by thus going into Egypt for help, they trusted only to a broken reed : but the damage which the church of England received from such proceedings, was such as rendered the reformation of the 16th century a matter of necessity.

Before the arrival of the archbishop at Sens, the king's ambassadors had appeared at the court of Alexander. The cardinals were aware how much it was their interest not to irritate so powerful and so rich a prince as Henry, and they saw the difficulties in which, by shewing favor to the primate, they would soon be involved. Already had part of the rich gifts which the ambassadors bore, been spread before them. The pope, though less inconsistent than the cardinals, still acted a disgraceful part in the transaction. As Mr Froude observes, "he neither insisted, as Becket wished, on trying the cause in his own presence, and summoning all parties from England; nor, on the other hand, consented to place Becket again at the disposal of his enemies by ordering him to return to his see, and by sending legates to decide the cause in Henry's dominions."

At this refusal Henry took deep offence. As a first step, he banished and proscribed all Becket's friends and relations with their whole families—sparing neither sex nor age—confiscating all their goods—and leaving them to find subsistence as they could in the charity of the continent. The list of proscriptions being swelled with four hundred names, the misery which ensued needs no description; yet such was the popularity of Becket's cause, that this secured an asylum for the greater number of the exiles. Monasteries were cheerfully opened to the men, nunneries to the women; many nobles offered large contributions for their support—especially the king of France, and Matilda, queen of Sicily. This, however, could not last long—charity was fatigued, and generosity blunted, in time; and before the six years of Becket's exile were concluded, hunger and cold had done its work.

The arrival of Becket at Sens excited feelings of sympathy and compassion, especially when, through ignorance of what became the primate of an independent Church, as high in office and dignity as the bishop of Rome, Becket offered to surrender his bishopric into the

hands of the latter prelate: some among the cardinals regarded this as a ready way to decide the dispute, and proposed that the resignation should be accepted; but Alexander, who was not void of generous feelings, refused to abandon a prelate who had sacrificed the friendship of a king for the good, as he supposed, of the Church, but having previously condemned the ten constitutions of Clarendon, recommended him to the care of the abbot of Pontigny, and exhorted him to bear with resignation the hardships of exile.

His residence at Pontigny was without doubt serviceable to Becket's soul. He, who had been hitherto immersed in politics or controversy, had now time for more profitable studies. By his contemporaries he was not regarded as a saint,—not even by those of his contemporaries who were most enthusiastically devoted to his service. John of Salisbury gives him the advice which we might expect from a man of learning and piety.

“My advice then to your lordship, and my earnest wish, and the sum of my entreaties is this, that you will commit yourself with your whole soul to the Lord, and to your prayers. It is written in the proverbs, ‘The name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth unto it and is safe.—xviii. 10. In the mean time, to the best of your ability, put aside all other business: other things are indeed important and necessary; but what I advise is still more important, because more necessary. The laws and the canons may profit much, but not for us under our present circumstances.

“Believe me, my lord,

‘Non hæc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.’

These things are better food for curiosity than for devotion. Your lordship recollects how it is written, that, in the sorrows of the people, ‘Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord!’ ‘I communed with my own heart,’ saith the prophet, ‘and my spirit made diligent search.’ ‘In the day of my trouble I sought the

Lord.' Thus teaching us that to cleanse and discipline our spirit is the way to ward off the lash of conscience, and to obtain for us the loving mercies of God. Who ever arose with a feeling of contrition from the study either of the laws or even of the canons? The exercises of the schools, too, are more likely to puff us up with the pride of science, than to kindle within us any feeling of devotion. I would far rather see your lordship's thoughts employed upon the psalms, or on the sermons of the Blessed Gregory, than intent upon this philosophy of the schools. Far better were it to confer on serious subjects with some spiritual person, and to warm your feelings by his example, than to dwell upon and discuss the subtle controversies of secular literature. God knows the sincerity with which I speak this—your lordship will receive it as seems good to you. Yet be assured that if you do these things God will be on your side, and you need not fear what flesh can do unto you. He knows that in our present troubles we have no mortal arm to lean upon."

It was long before Thomas á Becket could adapt himself to his altered fortunes: we find his friend John of Poitiers remonstrating with him on the unnecessary and impolitic style of his living, and urging on him, at the same time, the necessity of husbanding his resources, and of conforming to the habits of the religious establishment in which he was at that time living as an exile. "It will be necessary," he says, "as far as one can judge from the present aspect of your affairs, to husband your resources in every possible way: to let your enemies see that you are prepared for any sufferings to which your exile may reduce you. For this reason I have often warned your discretion, and must still earnestly press you to get rid of your superfluous incumbrances, and to consider the badness of the times, which promises you neither a speedy return nor a safe one. Your wisdom ought to know, that no one will think the less of you, if, in conformity to your circumstances, and in condescension to the religious house

which entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require."

The archbishop had indeed from the beginning been sensible of his insufficiency for the high office to which he was called, but unlike the bishop of Worcester, to whom reference has before been made, and who was complacent in his ignorance, he endeavoured to prepare himself for his duties, by securing the assistance of Hubert de Boscham, to assist him in his theological reading. The following is Hubert's own account, as given in the Quadriologue: "after early service he took a little sleep; and then, before any of the rest were up, he would set to reading the sacred volume, with only one of his train by him, to assist him in unfolding its mysteries. He used to confess that the Scriptures were so deep and obscure in many places, that he was always afraid of falling into error, unless there was some one to direct him. And therefore, while on plain passages he would trust to what his own understanding told him, in the examination of difficulties he always took me for his guide. Yes; he who had been so distinguished for deeds of prowess, and who, both as archbishop and in other respects, had risen to the very summit of excellence, yet trod the path of the Scriptures with this humble simplicity; never outstepping his instructor, or presuming at all upon himself. Often in our journeys would he turn his horse out of the main road, and calling the same attendant to his side, discuss theological subjects while travelling; every now and then repeating, 'How I wish I could retire a little from secular business, and pursue these subjects quietly and at my leisure.' "

"Without doubt," wrote John of Salisbury, in the spring of 1166, "this exile has been of the greatest service to my lord of Canterbury, both in regard to his literary attainments and the tone of his mind. I hope, too, it has not been lost on myself." In the summer of the same

year, writing to another friend, he remarks : “ concerning the cause of my lord of Canterbury, I do not despair, for he himself hath hope in the Lord, penancing himself for the deeds he did as a courtier, nor as I think doth he make flesh his arm.” And again, in the autumn following, “ with regard to my lord of Canterbury, rest assured that what he has gained in moral and intellectual graces, far outweighs all that the king’s malignity hath been able to deprive him of.”

It is pleasant in the midst of these controversies to read of this growth in grace, and to find that Becket could profit by the deep spirituality of his friends. And at the same time nothing is more offensive than the conduct of the pope, who always held out to him strong assurances of support, and as often as he stood in need of it, deserted him ; in the words of John of Salisbury, “ he often preferred might to right, and tolerated as a statesman what he could never approve as a prelate :” the pope himself admitted that he could not risk the loss of Peter’s pence, by aiding Becket as he could wish : and the king at one time did not hesitate to tell the bishop of Worcester and the other bishops, that he had “ his lordship the pope and all the cardinals in his purse.”

Henry knew how to play his game against the pope. We have already stated that an anti-pope was in existence, supported by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and at a diet held at Wurtzburg, ambassadors from Henry had appeared, among whom was the notorious John of Oxford. How far the ambassadors implicated Henry in the schism does not appear, but though they may have exceeded their instructions, they were evidently sent to Wurtzburg to alarm the pope, at a time when he seemed too much inclined to favour the cause of Becket. And from a correspondence between the pope and the bishops of the church of England, it appears that the end designed by the king was, to some extent, effected. But the undaunted primate addressed to the king admonitory letters, at first in a tone of deep respect and even of affection ; but after-

wards, with such expressions of warning as could not be misinterpreted. Henry was alarmed by the tone of these letters; knowing the archbishop to be a man not of words but of deeds, he perceived that unless he took the necessary precautions, his kingdom would soon be under an interdict, and himself excommunicated; he held, therefore, a conference with his barons and confidential friends at Chinon, in Touraine, when he behaved with extreme petulance, and declared, with groans and tears, that his barons were a pack of traitors, in not freeing him from a man who "tore his soul and body from him." He was rebuked with warmth, and yet gently, for his violence, by the archbishop of Rouen, while the politic Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, suggested that the only measure which could avert the impending sentence, was an appeal in the name of the king to the pope. And Henry, who had commenced this controversy, by reference to those ancient customs of his kingdom, through which he desired to suppress the right of appeal, had now in his own defence recourse to it. Thus, on all sides, by king and prelates, as passion or self-interest swayed, were the liberties of the church of England sacrificed, and our venerable establishment bound with fetters to the papal chair. The bishops of Lisieux and Séez were despatched to notify the appeal to the primate. But they found him not at Pontigny.

The apprehensions of the king were not unfounded: before his messengers arrived at Pontigny, Becket had gone to Soissons, and there underwent a process, marvellous according to modern notions, and shewing that although he had assumed the episcopal rule, he had not laid aside his martial and chivalrous feeling. He seems to have thought himself a spiritual champion, engaged in a kind of duel with Henry, and had gone to Soissons, there, as John of Salisbury expresses it, to gird himself against the day of battle. Thither he went to commend himself especially to St Drausius, to whom, as the said John of Salisbury remarks, "men resort before a duel, and who, according to the belief in France and Lorraine, imparts the

certainly of victory to all who watch a night before his shrine. "The Burgundians too, and even the Italians," he adds, "fly to him for succour before they hazard any perilous encounter. Here it was that Robert de Montfort watched before his combat with Henry of Essex." It ought to be observed that a duel was at this time one of the legal modes of settling a dispute, and was conducted strictly according to the forms of law. When two champions fought it was believed that God would defend the right. But it is curious to find Becket giving in to this superstition, not because we should expect him to be in advance of the tradition of his age, but because it shews the temper of his mind at the time. He was fighting, as he supposed, like a knight, in defence of the Church, and carried into the combat the generous and disinterested feelings of true chivalry. This throws an interest into his character; but it is not the character of a saint, such as the church of Rome does, and the church of England does not, regard him.

Three nights, in the true spirit of chivalry, did he watch before the altars, and then returned, full of holy ardour, and armed for the battle. It was in the church at Vezelay, on Whitsunday, that he intended to pronounce his sentence of excommunication; but two days before, a messenger from the king of France informed him that Henry was dangerously ill. He thought it proper, therefore, to defer the sentence as it regarded the king. But with respect to others he proceeded to act.

On the morning of the festival, amidst an immense concourse of people, the archbishop ascended the pulpit and preached. At the close of the sermon a solemn pause ensued; the torches were extinguished; the bells tolled; the crosses were inverted, and he pronounced his anathemas. He cut off from the society of the faithful, John of Oxford, who had communicated with the anti-pope; those of the royal ministers who had framed the constitutions of Clarendon; and all who had invaded the property of

the Church. The constitutions of Clarendon he read, and six of them, as given above, he condemned. He named the king, mentioned the letters he had written to him, and now publicly called upon him to repent, and to make satisfaction for the injuries he had done to the Church, declaring that if he persisted in his sin, the sentence they had heard pronounced against others should speedily fall on his own head.

Becket returned in haste to Pontigny, whence he wrote to his suffragans in England, and to Alexander, stating what he had done. The pope was at this time inclined to support him. Henry was naturally alarmed, lest this should only be the first step towards laying his kingdom under an interdict, when all the offices of the Church would be suspended, and he himself be rendered liable to attack from any enemy who might think fit to assail him. He therefore sent orders into England, that all communication with the archbishop, under the severest penalty, should cease; that the ports should be diligently watched, and that the prelates of his realm, directly in the teeth of the constitutions of Clarendon, should renew their appeals to the pope. The prelates appealed, and an angry correspondence ensued between them, especially Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, their leader, and the primate. The latter, as usual, received encouragement and advice from the excellent John of Salisbury, who seems to have treated him as his child. "Some," he said, "will disapprove of the rashness of thus exposing your life to your enemy's swords, and will call it wiser to defer the danger till *more thorough repentance has fitted you for martyrdom*, I answer, no one is unfit but the unwilling. Young be he or old, jew or gentile, christian or infidel, man or woman, it matters not. Whoever suffers for justice is a martyr, i. e. a witness of truth, an asserter of Christ's cause." His rhetoric, in alluding to an infidel, detracts from the effect of this sentence. In advising Becket further, he exhorts him to meet the archbishop of Rouen, who gave out that

all his actions proceeded from pride and anger, "with a studied display of moderation in all your words and actions, *as well as your dress and deportment*. And yet this will be of little avail in the sight of God, unless it proceeds from the inner secrets of your conscience." "But more than all," he says in another part of his letter, "be diligent in prayer and the other exercises of Christian warfare." "I think, too, that you have the Spirit of God. For he who gave you zeal when your deserts were little, will not refuse you wisdom now you deserve it and are in this emergency. I advise you then, as an old father and master" (Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury,) "used to say to you, 'not to hide in your boot what God inspires into your heart,' nor to prefer the counsels of less wakeful and sincere advisers." Of the English bishops, John of Salisbury says, "*some had married wives, and were enervated; others had bought yokes of oxen; others had been heaping up riches, not telling who should gather them; all were engrossed in pleasures of one sort or another; and therefore they chose, I say, to have their ears bored with an awl, and to mark themselves as bondmen for ever to the iniquitous Customs, rather than be elevated to spiritual liberty*." This is the sentence of a partizan, for some of the bishops of the church of England, and Gilbert Foliot, their leader, were men of a highly spiritual class of mind, who disliked Becket from the beginning, because they regarded him as a mere polemic.

Things now for a little time went on prosperously with Becket; his public acts were in the course of the summer confirmed by the pope, who ratified his suspension of the bishop of Salisbury for admitting John of Oxford to the deanery of his church, and the excommunications of Vezelay. Towards the end of September, the pope issued a mandate for restoring to the exiled party the benefices and the proceeds from them, of which they had been unjustly deprived; and, what was perhaps the most important step of all, as indicating his favourable feeling towards the archbishop, he now conferred on him the

appointment of legate, which had been his intention for some time back. The cause of the king seemed thus to be in a most unprosperous condition, when for a while it was restored to better hopes, by the success which attended an embassy to Rome, not so much with a view of prosecuting the appeal, as to sooth the pontiff, who was at this time in great need of money, to bribe the cardinals, and to procure the appointment of two legates from the papal court. At the head of this embassy was John of Oxford, who had suggested the expedient; a man notorious as one who was at all times ready to swear and to forswear himself, and who was known by the name of John the swearer. It was a bold step to send him, as he was excommunicated and denounced at Rome, and was an enemy of Alexander as well as of the primate, having had communications with the anti-pope. But the appointment was in a worldly sense a wise one. The gold of his master he largely distributed with both hands, and but few of "the sacred college" refused it. The cardinals espoused his cause. He was ready to make every concession. He was himself absolved from excommunication; resigning the deanery of Salisbury into the hands of the pope, he was by the pope reinstated in it; and declaring that "the difference between the king and the archbishop might be accommodated were there an honest man to mediate," he obtained a promise that legates should be sent.

Henry had recourse to conduct as mean as it was vindictive against the archbishop, for, seeing the undisturbed life he was leading at Pontigny, a monastery of the Cistercian order, he signified to the chapter that if they harboured his enemy much longer, he should confiscate their property in England. The monks of Pontigny were perplexed, but Becket saved them from their perplexities by removing to Sens, where he was gladly received by the bishop and people, and lived under the protection of the king of France. At Sens he contrived to reside throughout the remainder of his exile.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the primate

and his friends, when the humiliating news reached them of the appointment of the legates. Becket wrote letters expressive of the strongest indignation, censuring the weak pliancy of Alexander and the venality of "the sacred college." "If reports be true," wrote Becket to a friend, "he has not only choked and strangled me, but himself, all ecclesiastics, and the two churches of England and France." Henry was in proportion elated; "I have the pope," he said, "and cardinals in my purse, nor need you fear any of their threats," and he then told his courtiers what cardinals had taken money, and by what means they had been bribed. He forgot to add, that to carry his point he had conceded the object in dispute, and that John of Oxford had submitted the constitutions of Clarendon to the judgment of the pope; for by this concession he never intended to abide. On the other hand, Louis, who was true to the archbishop, and not less indignant, declared that the legates should not pass through his kingdom. "Had he sent them," he exclaimed, "to take the crown from my head, I should not have been more troubled." And the friends of the archbishop had more reason to feel indignant, when they found placed at the head of the legatine commission William of Pavia, who was hostile to Becket, and who openly declared his predetermination to decide in favour of the king, and on whom it was reported that the see of Canterbury would be conferred if Becket were deposed. The other legate was cardinal Otho, of St Nicholas, with whom Becket was less dissatisfied, though he too was known to be favourable to the king.

But the vacillating and time-serving Alexander was alarmed by the indignation with which his proposed measure had been regarded by the French king, and he actually nullified the whole proceeding, by commanding his legates not to enter Henry's dominions, or to take any decided steps, till the archbishop was reconciled to the king; so that the legates, granted as a boon to Henry, were restrained from acting, in order to conciliate Louis, till Becket might think fit to give authority to their pro-

ceedings. In writing to Louis, after eulogizing the archbishop, and requesting him to use his good offices to promote reconciliation, he adds, "But should our efforts fail, might it be agreeable to you, and not offensive to the dignitaries of your realm, I should be happy to appoint the archbishop my legate in the kingdom of France. Let this be secret."

William of Pavia wrote a haughty letter to Becket with reference to the legation, and Becket prepared first one and then another letter in reply, full of indignation and sarcasm, the first of which, certainly, and the second of which, probably, he laid aside without sending, on the advice of his faithful and fearless adviser and friend, John of Salisbury, who, with reference to the first of Becket's letters, honestly says: "I have read the letter which your lordship means to send lord William; and though I will not pass sentence on the writer, I certainly cannot approve the style. To my mind it is deficient in humility, and not quite consistent with the command, 'let your moderation be known to all, the Lord is at hand.' If your lordship's letter and his are compared clause by clause, the answer seems conceived in a spirit of bitterness, very foreign to the sincerity of Christian love."

Softened by the admonitions of his friend, for the high-spirited archbishop seemed always ready to bend before the rebukes of one whom he felt to be his superior in godliness as well as in learning, Becket obtained a passport for the legates for their journey through France, which, except for his interposition Louis would not have granted, and for obtaining which he received a letter of thanks from cardinal Otho.

The legates, on arriving in Normandy, had an interview with the king, and they appointed a day for conference with the archbishop. On the 18th of November, 1167, the conference took place between Gisors and Trie. The legates sought by every means to bend if possible the firmness of Becket, and recommended to him moderation and humility. The king and his party made bitter com-

plaints of his ingratitude, and charged him with exciting war between England and France and Flanders. Becket defended himself against all the charges brought against him, and as to the humility and deference which they recommended, he declared himself most anxious to exhibit it in every way, saving only the honor of God, the liberty of the Church, and the dignity of his own station. If this seemed too little or too much, or in any way different from their view, he was ready to make any compliance, consistent with his oaths, and saving his order. As to the charge of having caused war between the kings of England and France, the king of France assured the legates upon oath, that the primate had counselled peace, on such terms as should secure the honor of the two kings and the tranquillity of the people.

Henry had consented to some trifling modification of the constitutions of Clarendon, and in the strength of this the legates endeavoured to persuade Becket to comply in all things to the king's wishes ; on the archbishop's refusing to do this, as the alteration made no essential difference in the state of the case, the legates had nothing else to do but to return to the king to report progress. They found the king at Argentan. What passed at their audience is not known ; but, in about two hours, they came out and the king walked with the legates to an outer door : " May my eyes never look on a cardinal again ! " was his angry exclamation as they turned from him. The legates, however, had another interview with the king, and shewed the spirit with which they had entered on their task, by sending to the pope partial statements of the position of affairs, and of the conduct of either party, which told against the archbishop, and which were of course seconded by the efforts of the envoys of Henry at the court of Rome. In order to obtain time and prevent the archbishop from placing the kingdom under an interdict, a fresh appeal was instituted to the see of Rome.

Various controversies on points of minor interest occurred in the year 1168 between the legates and the

archbishop. Their unfriendly influence and partial acts were met with a promptness and vigilance by Becket, which must have rendered their legantine a complete failure in the estimation of the king, when the king's envoys unexpectedly returned from Rome with letters from the pope, signifying that the archbishop had been suspended, that is, forbidden all exercise of his spiritual powers, till such time as it should please the king to be reconciled to him. The archbishop and his friends were astounded. The effect that this measure had upon the king is described by John of Salisbury in a letter to Lombard.

“ The king soon made it evident how he had triumphed over his lordship the pope, and over the church of Rome ; and to hold up his lordship of Canterbury and his followers, as a scorn of men and an outcast of the people, he caused transcripts to be made of certain letters from his lordship the pope, licensing him to sin in impunity, and forwarded them to all the churches and dignitaries of each kingdom. He boasted, too, that he had in the court such friends as rendered all the attempts of the archbishop of Canterbury ineffectual ; friends so active in his interest, that the archbishop could make no petition or demand, of which he did not receive immediate notice. We know the names of those whose services he makes use of, and through whose influence in the court, the cause of God and of Christ's little ones, has been thus sold for nought. (For the multitude was not in their counsels.) Would that those ounces of gold had never been, through which, those who ought to have been the pillars of the Church were excited to cause its fall. So elated was the king with this his triumph, that in his own family he he could not refrain from naming those of the cardinals who had accepted his pestilential gold, and those who were his agents, in dispensing to some more to some less, according to the zeal they had shown in subverting justice.

“ When we were at Montmirail, the king of France

learned that a messenger from his lordship, John of Naples, had gone over from his camp to the king of England, and the other persecutors of the Church.

“The religious who take part with the king of England, when they heard the aforesaid letters, were sad beyond measure, and uttered imprecations against John of Naples, and John of St John and St Paul, who were said to have seduced his lordship the pope. M. Geoffrey, of Poitiers, a cleric of my lord cardinal William, did not consent to the counsel and practices of the king’s ambassadors, (for he himself too is waiting for the kingdom of God) but openly protested, ‘that they had perjured themselves, and incurred an anathema;’ inasmuch as they had sworn that the pope’s mandate should be kept secret, and that his holiness had commanded them so to keep it, in virtue of their obedience, and under peril of an anathema; whereas they, to render us contemptible and our friends disconsolate, herald forth with their king the triumphs of their own wickedness, glorying in the confusion of the Church.

“Would that my lord cardinals were within hearing of the French; among whom it has become a proverb, that the princes of the Church are faithless, and companions of thieves, ‘*Ecclesiæ principes infideles, socii furum;*’ for that they authorise the plunder of Christ’s patrimony, to share in it. Would that you likewise could hear his most christian majesty, who, as I fear, is now irrevocably determined, at the solicitation of the emperor, to contract a marriage between their children. Earl Henry is urging this, and entertains great hopes of succeeding.

“And now I entreat you, use your influence with his lordship the pope, urging him to act the part of a judge. Let him absolve the innocent who is bound without cause, and condemn the impious who is now displaying to the whole world his prowess as a persecutor. Endeavour also to procure an injunction against the archbishop of York, that he may be compelled to show deference and subjection to the suffering Church of Canterbury.”

The conduct of the pope was still as inconsistent as it had been all along: although he thus gave a triumph to Henry, he still feared to provoke Becket beyond endurance; and while writing to the bishops of our church admitting their appeal, he censured them severely for their disobedience to their metropolitan. But the most extraordinary thing was that in writing to Becket to console him, he mentioned a little fact of a very consolatory nature which by artifice or accident he had forgotten to mention to Henry, namely that the suspension was only to last till Lent. Becket did not fail to express his feelings of indignation to the pope, to whom, in ignorance of his rights as an independent archbishop, he had yielded already too much. The following extracts from the archbishop's letter will show the state of his feelings :

“ Holy father, it is an easy matter to suspend the powers of our office, but not so easy to arrest the right arm of our God, which is now bowing the heads of tyrants. Your faithful ones fear much, that, while you wait better times for the execution of justice, the best may slip away from you. Our enemies are now in a strait. He who terrifies is himself more terrified. ‘Be comforted,’ saith the Lord, ‘and be strong, and fear not their faces, for I am with thee.’

“ O, my father, my soul is in bitterness; the letters in which your holiness was pleased to suspend me, have made myself and my unhappy fellow-exiles, a very scorn of men and outcast of the people; and what grieves me worse, have delivered up God's Church to the will of its enemies.

“ Our persecutor had held out sure hopes to the earl of Flanders, and others of the French nobility, that he meant to make peace with us. But his messengers arrived with their new powers from your holiness, and all was at an end.

“ What could our friends do for us when thus repulsed by your holiness's act, and smitten down as with the club of Hercules?

“ Would that your holiness’s ears could hear what is said of this matter by the bishops, nobles, and commons of both realms; and that your eye could see the scandal with which it has filled the French court.

“ But your holiness counsels me to bear with patience the meanwhile.....

“ And do you not observe, O father, what this *meanwhile* may bring about, to the injury of the Church and of your holiness’s reputation?

“ *Meanwhile*, he applies to his own purposes the revenues of the vacant abbeys and bishoprics, and will not suffer pastors to be ordained there: *meanwhile*, he riots in uncontrolled insolence against the parishes, churches, holy places, and the whole sacred order: *meanwhile*, he and the other persecutors of the Church, make their will their law: *meanwhile*, who is to take charge of the sheep of Christ, and save them from the jaws of wolves, who no longer prowl around, but have entered the fold, and devour, and tear, and slay, with none to resist them? For what pastor is there whose voice you have not silenced? what bishop have you not suspended in suspending me?

“ This act of your holiness’s is alike unexampled and unmerited, and will do the work of tyrants in other days as well as yours. Your holiness has set an example ready to their hands; and doubtless this man and his posterity, unless your holiness take steps to order otherwise, will draw it into a precedent. He and his nobles, whatever be their crime, will claim among the privileges of the realm, exemption from any sentence of excommunication or interdict, till authorized by the apostolic see; then in time, when the evil has taken root, neither will the chief priest of Rome himself find any in the whole kingdom, to take part with him against the king and his princes.

“ And yet I doubt not that this struggle for the Church’s liberty would long ago have been brought to a close, unless his wilfulness, not to use a harsher term, had found patrons in the church of Rome. God requite them as is best for His Church and for themselves. The Almighty

all-just Lord God judge between me and them. Little should I have needed their patronage, if I had chosen to forsake the Church, and yield to his wilfulness myself. I might have flourished in wealth and abundance of delicacies ; I might have been feared, courted, honoured, and might have provided for my own in luxury and worldly glory, as I pleased. But because God called me to the government of His Church, an unworthy sinner as I was, and most wretched, though flourishing in the world's goods beyond all my countrymen, through His grace preventing and assisting me, I chose rather to be an outcast from the palace, to be exiled, proscribed, and to finish my life in the last wretchedness, than to sell the Church's liberty, and to prefer the iniquitous traditions of men, to the law of God.

“ Such a course be for those who promise themselves many days, and in the consciousness of their deserts, expect better times. For myself, I know that my own days are few ; and that unless I declare to the wicked man his ways, his blood will shortly be required at my hands, by One from whom no patronage can protect me.

“ There silver and gold will be profitless, and gifts that blind the eyes of wise ones.

“ We shall soon stand all of us before the tribunal of Christ, and by His majesty and terrible judgment I conjure your holiness, as my father and lord, and as the supreme judge on earth, to render justice to His Church, and to myself, against those who seek my life to take it away.”

While Becket was remonstrating, and the king of France shewing his disgust at Alexander's conduct, Henry was turning the license which had been given him to a practical account. He had already alienated many of the lands and possessions of the church of Canterbury, besides committing wanton destruction on what was left, and had begun to levy exactions from the whole body of the clergy, and was proceeding to further acts of violence, when the pope began to see the necessity of retracing his steps. He ap-

pointed an embassy for the purpose of remonstrating with Henry and pressing him to reconciliation, on peril of the sentence of the Church which would otherwise inevitably fall upon him, when the restraint at present imposed upon the archbishop was removed. This appointment took place towards the close of the year 1168, the envoys chosen being Simon, prior of Montdieu, Engelbert, prior of Le Val de St Pierre, and Bernard, a monk of Grammont.

Through the intercession of these envoys Becket was persuaded to present himself before Henry at Montmirail, where the kings of France and England had met in conference to settle their political differences; though in attending the conference the archbishop himself felt no expectation of a satisfactory result. Henry in appearance gave way and made concessions. The constitutions of Clarendon were not mentioned by name; but then Becket was required to swear that he would keep to the ancient customs of the realm. He consented to do this with the clause, *saving his order*, and as far as his duty to God permitted; the king demanded the oath absolutely and *without conditions*; and they parted without coming to terms. The impression on most parties seems to have been that Becket had acted with obstinacy rather than firmness. The king of France, who had endeavoured to persuade him to yield, seemed to be irritated against him, and his dependants began to murmur.

But Becket, unintimidated, had recourse again to severity. On all sides, he spread his censures, suspending and excommunicating many, but those particularly who had pillaged, or who kept possession of the effects belonging to his see. Among these was the bishop of London, whom before, it seems, he had suspended. So general was the sentence, that scarcely among the king's chaplains was there one, from whom, at mass, he could take the kiss of peace. Fearful that the anathema might reach them, the prelates of the realm and the nobles

reiterated their appeals to Rome; and the king again sent messengers to the pontiff, namely, the archdeacons of Salisbury and Landaff."

The pope expressed himself towards Becket with considerable displeasure at these violent proceedings, and advised him to suspend the sentence he had pronounced against the dignitaries of the realm, in order to mitigate the king's wrath till he should hear from the papal envoys whether the king would realize his promise of recalling him. The matter, in the end, was handed over, as all other points at issue, to an embassy, the third which had been appointed in the course of the two last years. The nuncios appointed were Gratian and Vivian, men learned in the laws, and of great reputation in the Roman court. They were bound by oath not to accept any present from Henry, and they came with a form of agreement prescribed by Alexander, and if the king would not consent to it, they were ordered to leave him.

Their first interview with the king was at Donefront in Normandy which led to no satisfactory result, both parties separating in anger; but at a conference held soon after at Baieux the nuncios were more successful, and Henry expressed his readiness to permit Becket to return to his see, and to take the archbishop and his friends once more into favour. But peace was not yet restored. The form of reconciliation remained to be settled, and the king insisted that the words, saving the dignity of his kingdom, should be inserted. "That was but a softer name for the customs of Clarendon," observed the primate's friends, and proposed that the counter-clause, saving the dignity of the Church, should then be admitted. Assemblies were held; discussions full of acrimony were revived; and neither party would recede. Michaelmas, in the mean time, approached, when the commission of the nuncios expired, and Gratian, weary of the fruitless negotiation, prepared to return into Italy. Vivian remained.

The king had more confidence in Vivian, imagining,

after the departure of his colleague, that he might be prevailed on to adopt his measures. He proposed to meet him at St Denys, to which place Vivian entreated that Becket also would repair, being convinced, from some expressions of Henry, that an accommodation would now be effected. The primate very reluctantly consented, and came to Corbeil. At St Denys, where the two kings again met on some public business, Vivian, in vain, laboured to extort from Henry a final compliance with the promise, he thought he had made him. His answers were evasive; and the Italian finding himself duped, did not restrain his anger: "So lying a prince," said he, "I never heard or saw." They parted; and the king, passing by Montmartre, was visited by Becket. The archbishop of Rouen, with other mediators, spoke for the primate; requesting in his name, that to him and his friends he would give peace, permit their return, and restore their possessions to them: "while the primate, on his side, they said, was ready to do all that an archbishop owed to his prince." After some conversation, which seemed to promise a happy issue, the petition was reduced to writing, when Becket added that, as a pledge of favour and greater security, he hoped he might be reconciled to the king by a kiss of peace. This was a customary form in reconciliations. The petition was read, and much approved; but again the king had recourse to evasions, using a circuitous language, which, while it seemed to grant every thing, was, in fact, loaded with inadmissible conditions. "And as to the kiss of peace," said he, "willingly I would grant the pledge, had I not publicly sworn in my anger never to do it, though concord were restored betwixt us." Thus ended the treaty; for the king of France and many others strongly advised the primate not to return to his see, unless Henry gave this easy token of peace.

The year 1169 closed without any reconciliation being effected between the king and the primate. But Henry, knowing the firmness and determination of Becket, was now in no little alarm lest his kingdom should be placed

under an interdict. He sent therefore an edict into England purporting, that if any person should be found carrying any mandate from the archbishop or the pope, whereby an interdict should be laid on the country, he should be treated as a traitor to the king and kingdom. He also in 1170 procured the coronation of his son Henry, a ceremony at which the archbishop of York officiated, though it was the province, by prescription, of the archbishop of Canterbury; and thus he again placed himself in the wrong, and afforded a new grievance, of which Becket justly complained. The policy of this measure has been amply but unsatisfactorily discussed by modern historians; perhaps Henry supposed that by having his son anointed, if he himself were excommunicated, there would be a way through his son of evading the interdict. But whatever may have been the policy of the measure, Henry now perceived difficulties increasing around him, and that nothing but a reconciliation with Becket would restore him to peace. He was tired of the controversy, and acted as impetuously in seeking a reconciliation as he had when commencing the quarrel.

The pope had previously issued a new commission to Rotrodus or Rotrou archbishop of Rouen, and Bernard bishop of Nevers, who were ordered to wait upon Henry, and to admonish him to permit Becket to return to his see, to restore to him and his friends their possessions with full security, and to be reconciled to him with the kiss of peace: if he refused they were directed to lay all his dominions in France under an interdict; but if a prospect of accommodation appeared, they were authorized to absolve the excommunicated, and to exhort the king to abolish the evil customs of his kingdom. Alexander had received an intimation that to these terms Henry would submit, and before he left England the king assured the nuncios that nothing should on his side frustrate the treaty.

The king and the archbishop met by agreement in a meadow near the town of Freitville, on the borders of

Touraine, where he had held a conference and settled his differences with the king of France. As soon as Becket appeared, the king spurring forward his horse with his cap in his hand, prevented his salutation, and as if no dissention had ever divided them, discoursed with him apart with all that easy familiarity which had distinguished their former friendship. The crowd of spectators was vast, and all viewed the transaction with pleasure. With much gentleness, the primate exhorted Henry to retrieve his reputation which had suffered, and to make satisfaction to the Church. The king assented. Becket then spoke of the late coronation, which he represented as an enormous derogation from the rights of Canterbury, and historically detailed the uniform practice from the conquest. "I doubt not," said Henry, "but your see is the most noble amongst the western churches; nor is it my wish to deprive it of its rights; rather, as you shall advise, I will strive to repair the evil, and to restore to Canterbury its pristine dignity. But to those who hitherto have betrayed both you and me, I will, by the blessing of God, make such an answer, as the deserts of traitors demand." At the words, Becket sprang from his horse, and threw himself before the king; but he, seizing the stirrup, forced him to remount, and said, as the tears fell from his eyes: "My lord archbishop, why many words? Let us restore to each other our former affection, and in mutual good offices, forget every cause of rancour. But shew me honour, I beg, before those yonder, who have their eyes turned towards us." With this, leaving Becket, he rode up to the company, and observing some there who had been promoters of the late quarrel, he spoke: "If, when I find the primate full of all good dispositions in my regard, I were not reciprocally good to him, truly, I should be the worst of men, and prove that to be true, which is said of me. There cannot be any counsel more honourable or useful to me, than that I should strive to go before him in kindness, and surpass him in the general

practice of beneficence." The address was received with the warmest plaudits.

He sent to the primate, who remained at a distance, desiring he would now, in the face of the assembly, state his petition. The bishops who bore the message, advised him to submit himself and his cause to the king's pleasure; but he declined their counsel, and they left him. He then deliberated with his friends, the companions principally of his exile; and having adjusted the terms, they all moved towards the king, who stood surrounded by his attendants. In the name of Becket, the archbishop of Sens spoke, and petitioned, "that he would restore to the primate his royal favour, peace and security to him and his, with the church of Canterbury, and the possessions belonging to it, as set down in a writing the king had seen; that he would be graciously pleased to amend, what had been presumptuously done against him and his church, in the late coronation; while, on his side, the primate promised love and honour, and whatever service can be performed in the Lord, by an archbishop, to his sovereign."—"I agree to all," replied the monarch, "and the primate and his friends I again take into favour."

A long and private conversation, with the familiarity of ancient friendship, now took place between them; and only as night approached, they parted, having agreed, that Becket should first wait on the French king and his other benefactors, as gratitude required; and then make some stay with Henry, before he returned into England, that the world might learn how sincere their reconciliation was. They were departing, when it was proposed to Becket, that he should absolve the excommunicated, shewing to others the indulgence, which himself had just experienced. He observed, that the cases were very different, there being some in that number whom the pope and other bishops had suspended, and whose crimes were of various descriptions. "But being willing to shew mercy to all," said he, "I will take the advice of my king, and proceed as shall

seem most expedient." Apprehensive that an altercation might ensue, Henry drew the primate from the crowd, and requesting he would not heed the discourses of such men, he begged his benediction, and they all retired.

Soon after the conference, as they had been empowered, the commissioners absolved the excommunicated; and Becket despatched agents to take possession of the lands and the effects of his see; for the king had sent letters patent to his son, whereby he was commanded to make an ample restitution of all things, as they had been possessed three months before the primate departed from England. But it was the interest of many not to comply with these injunctions. They had long received the great revenues of the see, and were not disposed to relinquish them. Excuses therefore were made, difficulties were raised, the young king was imposed upon, and the day of restitution was put off. In the mean time, greater extortions were committed, and the produce of the lands, and the furniture of houses and castles, were consumed or conveyed to a distance. So the agents reported.

Becket did not see the king again for several weeks, and when he waited upon him at Tours he was received with a marked coolness; and the king, being pressed to execute the terms of peace, he told Becket to go to England, and that his possessions would be restored. A few days after, he met him at Chaumont near Blois, when Henry, with great kindness, conversed with him; and it was finally agreed, that he should immediately return to Canterbury. But it was evident, that the king's heart was altered, and that he felt no longer the warmth of returning affection, which he had expressed at Freitville. From that time two months had elapsed. The change might be owing to many causes, (if ever his professions were sincere,) but principally it arose from the representations of those, who were interested in the prolongation of the quarrel, or who, from enmity to Becket, wished he might never return.

These proceedings forced Becket to complain again to

the court of Rome, and he now received the support in that quarter which he had long desired, but sought for in vain. The court of Rome, with its usual policy, aided Becket when they perceived the cause of Becket to be the strongest. The pope of Rome was now fully prepared to support the primate of Canterbury, if the latter laid England under an interdict, and he was advised to do so if Henry still continued to violate his engagements. All occupiers of church lands were ordered to make restitution on pain of excommunication; and the bishops who had assisted at the coronation of prince Henry were suspended, both on account of the irregularity of their proceedings, and because they allowed the omission of the oath for maintaining the liberty of the Church, and had themselves sworn to observe the constitutions of Clarendon. The bishops of London and Salisbury also, had been placed again under the sentence of excommunication, which Becket had pronounced, and which, by the usurped authority of the see of Rome, had been removed through the management of John of Oxford. It is impossible not to regret the entire submission which Becket exhibited to the see of Rome, contrary to the canons of the Church universal, and the more so as he had the wisdom to see that the court of Rome was now as injudicious in its support, as it had been before unjust in its interference between him and the king. So strong, indeed, were the threatened proceedings of the pope at this time, that Becket for once was obliged to be moderator, and actually withheld some letters, which gave him an authority to exercise greater severity than he considered wise and prudent.

It would have been well if Becket had continued to act with this prudence. But while he was at Witsand, preparing to sail for England, information was brought him that the three prelates, Roger of York, Gilbert of London, and Joscelin of Salisbury, who knew that the archbishop carried with him papal letters for their suspension, which he might use at any time, had sent to the coast Ranulf de

Broc, with a party of soldiers, to search him on his landing, and to take them from him. In a moment of irritation Becket despatched them before himself by a trusty messenger, by whom, or by whose means, they were delivered publicly to the bishops in the presence of their attendants. Thus had Becket before reaching England rendered a reconciliation with these powerful prelates impossible. He knew his difficulties; he was forewarned of his danger. The sarcasms with which the king of England still refused the kiss of peace, which was really a part of his promise, shewed that he meditated hostile proceedings against the archbishop; and it was against the advice of all that Becket returned to England before this formality had been conceded. To the friendly advice of some who came to him with no false reports of deadly preparations to receive him on the shores of Kent, he answered: "Did you tell me that I was to be torn limb from limb I would not regard it; for I am resolved that nothing shall hinder my return. Seven years are long enough for a pastor to have been absent from the Lord's sorrowing flock. I only ask my friends, and a last request should be attended to, that if I shall not return to my church alive, they will carry me into it, dead."

He embarked on the festival of St Andrew, 1170, and after a prosperous voyage landed in Sandwich harbour on the first of December. He avoided Dover for reasons assigned before. He was received by the clergy and people with unbounded attestations of joy. The Church was still the people's party. She was the protector of the rights and liberties of the people, and was in the middle ages, as in the primitive ages after the time of Constantine, always popular, but never more so than when resisting the tyrannical acts of an unjust government. The Church was then powerful: and it was because Becket was at the head of a body thus powerful, that Henry, while he hated, dared not openly to attack him. It was not till the Church succumbed to the state, and sought to become an aristo-

cratic corporation that her power was lost, and her means of benefiting mankind curtailed. On the 3rd of December Becket entered Canterbury, "all the inhabitants," says Fitz-Stephen, a witness of the fact, "rejoiced, from the greatest to the least: they decked out the cathedral; dressed themselves in silks and expensive clothing; prepared a public entertainment: a numerous procession attended the archbishop into the town: the churches resounded with chants and anthems, and the halls with trumpets: every where there were sounds of rejoicing. His lordship preached a most instructive sermon on the text, "Here we have no continuing city, but seek one to come." After he had been eight days in England he set out to wait upon the young king, whom he had brought up as boy, and for whom he had prepared splendid presents. On his entering London Fitz-Stephen informs us that "a vast multitude of clergy, and others, both men and women, came out to welcome him back from exile, and to bless God for his return. The poor scholars and the clergy of the London churches, had drawn themselves up in order about three miles from the city, and when, immediately on his approach, with a loud and clear voice, they began the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, there was scarcely a person present who could refrain from weeping. He himself bowed his head in gratitude, and caused a large alms to be distributed. When he had arrived at the church and dismounted, the canons, who met him in procession at the porch, sung the first verse of the hymn, 'Blessed is the Lord God of Israel,' and the whole multitude, laity and clergy, young and old, took up the response."

Little did the people know that the honest expression of their joy at receiving their pastor again, only served to exasperate the enemies of the primate. The courtiers, who dreaded the influence of the archbishop over the mind of his former pupil, procured a peremptory order for him to return and confine himself to his diocese. He obeyed, and spent the following days in prayer and the

functions of his station. Yet they were days of distress and anxiety. The menaces of his enemies seemed to derive strength from each succeeding event. His provisions were hourly intercepted; his property plundered; his servants were beaten and insulted. He looked in vain for support where he had most right to expect it.

It has been stated that the port of Dover, and other ports, where the archbishop was expected to land, had been watched. It is hardly fair to consider those who undertook this office as a mere party of assassins, as is done by some historians. It was reported that the archbishop was bringing with him mandates from the pope, and this was contrary to the laws of the land. They were obeying the king when they determined to search the archbishop. But on the day after the archbishop's first arrival at Canterbury, these parties came into the presence of the primate, and demanded the absolution of those who had been excommunicated. The bishops of London and Salisbury would have submitted, but were persuaded by the prelate of York, who boasted that he had £8,000 in his treasure-box, wherewith to harass the archbishop of Canterbury, and assured his two brethren that, if they were reconciled with Becket, the royal hands would soon be laid upon their temporals. This warning took such an effect upon the two prelates, that they joined with the archbishop of York, and immediately passed over to Henry in Normandy, and made bitter complaints against the primate, on account of their excommunication, for the part they had taken in the young king's coronation. "Truly," answered Henry, with an oath, "if all who took part in that business are excommunicated, I myself am not excluded." The three prelates continued day by day to urge him, till his anger knew no bounds; and it is well known that Henry, when under the influence of rage, was wont to sink far below human nature.

Others there were who were continually misrepresenting the actions of the archbishop to the king. On his way back from London to Canterbury, he was attended by a

slight escort, as a precaution against freebooters. There were in all "five shields, swords, and lances in his train." It was immediately told Henry that he was making a circuit of the kingdom at the head of a large army, arrayed in helmets and coats of mail, that he was besieging towns, and meditated driving the young king out of the country. At Canterbury he dismissed his five soldiers. The king's fury was fanned into resistless violence. He sought council of his prelates and barons: "My lord," said one, "while Thomas lives you can have no peace." With such violence of gesture as sufficiently spoke his meaning, the king replied,—“Of the caitiffs who eat my bread, is there none to free me from this turbulent priest.”

Four barons,—Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracey Hugo de Moreville, and Richard Bryto left the court.

On Christmas-day the archbishop preached at Canterbury with his usual earnestness and animation: at the conclusion, he observed that those who thirsted for his blood would soon be satisfied, but that he must first avenge the wrongs of the Church, by excommunicating Ranulf and Robert de Broc, who for seven years had not ceased to inflict every injury in their power on him and on his clergy.

At Saltwood, the residence of the Brocs, the four barons above named assembled on the Tuesday following, to arrange their operations for carrying into effect the vow they had made, either to carry off or to murder the primate.

The next day, the 29th of December, while the primate was conversing on business with some of his clergy, after dinner, the knights entered his apartment, his palace forming part of Christ-church. Neglecting his salutation, they seated themselves on the floor. It seems to have been their wish to begin by intimidation: but if they hoped to succeed, they knew little of the intrepid spirit of their opponent; and yet they knew him well, for the atrocity of their conduct is heightened by the fact, that of

the four knights, three had, in the days of his prosperity, sworn fealty to him.

“We bring you orders from the king,” said Reginald Fitzurse, after a pause of silence: “will you hear them in public, or in private?” “As it shall please you best,” replied Becket. “In private then,” rejoined Reginald: on which the company was told to quit the room. But he had not spoken long, when the primate observed that, it would be well that others should hear what he said; and calling to his clergy, bade them to return. Reginald proceeded: “We order you, in the king’s name, to go to his son, and pay him the homage which is due to your lord.” “I have done it,” replied Becket.—“You have not,” said Reginald; “for you have suspended his bishops, which looks as if you would tear the crown from his head.”—“Many crowns, rather, I would place on his head; and as to the bishops, they were suspended not by me, but by the pope;” answered the primate.—“The sentence was procured by you,” he rejoined.—Becket said; “It does not displease me, I confess, when the pope avenges the injuries of the Church and my own.” He then spoke of the insults he had received, and of the many evils to which his own possessions and those of his friends had been exposed, since the reconciliation at Freitville. “Had you brought these complaints before your peers,” observed Reginald, interrupting him, “justice had been done you.”—“I have experienced the contrary,” replied Becket: “But, Reginald; you and more than two hundred knights were present, when the king told me, I might compel those to make satisfaction, by ecclesiastical censures, who had disturbed the peace of the Church; nor can I longer dissemble the proper discharge of my pastoral duties.”—The knights sprang from the ground; “We heard no such words,” exclaimed they: “but these are threats. Monks; we command you to guard this man: if he escape, you shall answer for him.” So saying, they went out; but Becket following them to the outward door:

“I came not here to run away, gentlemen,” he called after them; “nor do I value your threats.” You shall find something more than threats;” they answered, and departed.

“It is wonderful,” said John of Salisbury, when they were gone, “that you will take no one’s advice. Why still irritate those miscreants by your replies, and follow them to the door? We could have advised you better.” “My resolution is taken,” answered the primate; “and I well know what I should do.” “Heaven grant it may be successful!” rejoined the secretary.

In the court of the palace, under a large mulberry-tree, the knights took off their outer garments, and appeared in armour; and having opened the door to the soldiers they had brought with them, they all seized their arms, and again entered the palace. The arms the knights bore, were an axe in the left hand, to break through obstacles, if necessary, and in the right they brandished their naked swords. With much difficulty the primate had been prevailed on to leave his apartment: but the monks, whom his danger had alarmed, insisted on it; and as the evening service had begun, they led him to the church. With a slow and reluctant step, he advanced through the cloisters, and entered by a side door. All was confusion here. “Cowards,” said he to them, as they were barring the doors, “I forbid you to do it. I did not come here to resist, but to suffer.” Scarcely had he said the words, when the assassins, who had not found him in the palace, came rushing through the cloisters, and entering the church, divided. The primate, meanwhile, had ascended a few steps towards the choir. “Where is the traitor Becket?” exclaimed Reginald Fitzurse; and as no answer was given: “Where is the archbishop?” he repeated in a louder tone. Becket turned his head, and coming down the steps, said; “Here I am. Reginald, I have done you many kindnesses; and do you come to me thus armed?” He seized the primate’s robe:

“You shall know at once,” said he. “Get out from hence, and die.” “I will not move;” replied the primate, drawing his robe from his hand. “Then fly;” exclaimed the knight. “Nor that either;” observed Becket: “but if it is my blood you want, I am ready to die, that the Church may obtain liberty and peace; only, in the name of God, I forbid you to hurt any of my people.”

Reginald retired to give a severer blow; and being joined by the other assassins, he struck with all his might: but Edward Grime, a clerk, interposing his arm, received the weight of the blow, and the archbishop was only wounded on the head. “Now strike:” exclaimed Reginald. Becket bowing his head, in a posture of prayer; “To God,” said he, “and the patrons of this place, I commend myself and the Church’s cause.” They were his last words. Without a motion or a groan, in the same devout attitude, with his hands joined, he received a second stroke, and as the murderers multiplied their blows, he fell motionless at their feet. “He is dead,” said they, and went out.

Thus died this extraordinary man, in the fifty-third year of his age.

The clergy, with many of the inhabitants of Canterbury, wept over the body that night. They were surprised to find the habit of a monk and a hair shirt beneath the splendid robes of the archbishop, who had not pretended to any peculiar asceticism, even after his elevation to the primacy.

Becket died a martyr, in the same sense in which Ridley and Latimer, prelates of the same Church, suffered martyrdom at a later period; and perhaps we may add the name of his successor, Cranmer: though Cranmer sought to avoid his fate by a recantation, and Becket preserved his constancy to the end. They were all of them martyrs for principles which they believed to be true, and in a cause which they thought to be the cause of God and the gospel.

Becket contended for a principle, devoted his life to

maintain it, and willingly died to support it. His principle was to maintain the liberty of the Church: but alas! while he would contend for the Church's liberty against the king, he was prepared to deliver her bound hand and foot to a foreign prince and prelate, the bishop of Rome. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer contended for the Church's liberty against the pope, but delivered her up a slave to the state. While they defied the fulminations of the court of Rome, at a time when they had begun to lose their terrors, they succumbed to a tyrant like Henry VIII, armed with despotic powers: Becket opposed with the spirit of chivalry the tyranny of Henry II, but in ignorance of his episcopal rights, and yielding to the temper of the age, he appeared as a suppliant in the court of Rome. By the church of Rome he was canonized, for, though the primate of the church of England, he was a Romanizer, and did much to bring our beloved church under a foreign yoke.

By his own church since the reformation, his name as a saint has been erased from the calendar, and certainly his virtues, though they are not to be denied, were not of that high class and character which we look for in persons regarded as saints, while the idolatrous worship paid at his shrine before the reformation rendered it necessary for the Church to take steps to prevent the repetition of it.—*Quadrilogus. Fitz-Stephen. Ep. D. Thomæ. Froude's Remains. History of Henry II. by Littleton Berrington. Rapin. Lingard. Sharon Turner, and Poole.*

BECON, THOMAS, was born about the year 1511, but whether Norfolk, Suffolk, or Kent had the honor of being the place of his birth, his biographers are doubtful, and he seems not to have known himself. At an early age he was sent to St John's college, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1530. At that time there was a party in the university anxiously desirous of obtaining a reformation in our venerable establishment: this reforming party was strongly opposed by most of the heads of houses and

the influential members of the university, but it reckoned among its numbers many men the most distinguished for learning and virtue of the day. Becon mentions his obligations at this time to Latimer and to Stafford, a fellow at Pembroke hall, and reader in divinity: he mentions a saying which had passed into a proverb among the reforming party, "When master Stafford read, and master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed." Becon was ordained in 1538; it is probable that his reforming principles made him an object of suspicion to the bishops of the church of England, and occasioned the delay of his ordination until he was twenty-six years of age. His first preferment was the vicarage of Brensett or Brenzett, near Romney, in Kent. He was extremely cautious in his manner of speaking of those doctrines and ceremonies in which our beloved Church at that period needed a reformation; so cautious, that he published under the feigned name of Theodore Basil. Being aware that Henry VIII was open to flattery, from policy or attachment, he was lavish in his praises of that tyrannical prince. But notwithstanding his caution and policy, he fell under suspicion and was thrown into prison. He had been long attached to the reforming party, but although his pen had been ever ready to defend the principles of the reformation, he did not think it necessary to defend them by his blood or to die in the cause, and therefore in 1541 he was brought to St Paul's cross, where he recanted, revoked his doctrine, and burned his books. He naturally felt that he could write other books, if by his recantation he could save his life, and he was willing to revoke his doctrine that his life might be spared to benefit the reformation, if better days were to come. His recantation commenced: "Worshipful audience, for declaration of my penitent heart, and the testifying you my *unfeigned* conversion from error to truth, I occupy this day the place of a penitent praying you to give credit to that which I shall now say of myself," &c. After his recantation he retired quietly to the country. His dis-

cretion on this occasion is vindicated by himself: "When neither by speaking nor by writing I could do good, I thought it best, he says in his "Jewel of Joy," not rashly to throw myself into the paw of these greedy wolves; but for a certain season to absent myself from their tyranny, according to the doctrine of the gospel." It may have been according to the gospel to flee away from persecution, but it was "another gospel" to declare publicly his "*unfeigned* conversion" from his former opinions, which he called error, to certain other opinions which he called truth, when by so doing he was telling a falsehood. It appears that if the "greedy wolves" were deceived into a belief that his conversion was unfeigned, his friends were soon persuaded that he had only told a falsehood to save his life; for on his retiring to the Peak of Derbyshire the partizans of the reformation rallied round him, and in the library of Mr Alsop he was pleased to find his own treatises, published under the name of Basil, and he soon forgot that he had denounced them and burnt them, "with a penitent heart," as full of errors. From Derbyshire he went to Staffordshire and thence to Warwickshire and Leicestershire, supporting himself by pupils, and finding pleasure in the society of the reformers. He published also several treatises, though with his usual discretion, under a feigned name. Among the works published at this time was the "Governance of Virtue," written, as he expresses himself, "in the bloody, boisterous, burning time, when the reading of the holy Bible, the word of our soul's health, was forbidden the poor lay people."

On the accession of King Edward VI. the reforming party was in power, and they gave proof that they considered Becon's former conversion as merely feigned to save his life, by obtaining for him the rectory of St Stephen Walbrook, to which he was instituted in 1547. He was also chaplain to Dr Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was appointed one of the six preachers in Canterbury cathedral. Becon now began to enjoy the

comforts of life: he married a wife and had several children: he was soon after appointed chaplain to the duke of Somerset, to whom he appears to have been sincerely attached. It has been supposed by some that he held also some post in the university of Oxford. He continued to write, and his treatises at this time were chiefly devotional. He was accustomed at all times to express himself strongly, and therefore we may hope that his description of the dreadful effects of the ultra-protestant principles which were in vogue during the reign of Edward VI. may be too deeply coloured. If it be only true in part, (and no one was better able to judge of the truth than Thomas Becon,) it will in some degree account for the violence with which the reformers were opposed in the reign of Mary, when the conservatives in state displaced the reformers, and the Romanizers for the last time obtained ascendancy in our church. In his preface to the "Jewel of Joy," Becon gives what Strype calls "a clear sight of the behaviour of these times." What a number of false Christians," he says, "live there at this present day, unto the exceeding dishonour of the Christian profession, which with their mouth confess that they know God, but with their deeds they utterly deny him, and are abominable, disobedient to the word of God, and utterly estranged from all good works? What a swarm of gross gospellers have we also among us, which can prattle of the gospel very finely, talk much of the justification of faith. crake very stoutly of the free remission of all their sins by Christ's blood, avaunce themselves to be of the number of those, which are predestinate unto eternal glory? But how far does their life differ from all true Christianity? They are puffed up with all kind of pride: they swell with all kind of envy, malice, hatred, and enmity against their neighbour, they burn with unquenchable lusts of carnal concupiscence, they wallow and tumble in all kind of beastly pleasures; their greedy covetous affections are insatiable: the enlarging of their lordships, the increasing of their substance, the scraping together of their worldly possessions infinite, and

knoweth no end. In fine, all their endeavours tend unto this end, to shew themselves very ethnics, and utterly estranged from God in their conversation, although in words they otherwise pretend. As for their alms-deeds, their praying, their watching, their fasting, and such other godly exercises of the spirit, they are utterly banished from these rude and gross gospellers. All their religion consisteth in words and disputations; in Christian acts and godly deeds nothing at all."

On the accession of queen Mary, Becon was deprived of his living as a married priest: he was also accused of being a seditious preacher, and for preaching sedition was cast into prison. He probably had advocated the unsuccessful revolution attempted by the reforming party under the lady Jane Grey. He continued in prison till March 1554. By what means he escaped is not known, but we are told that "there is no reason to imagine that it was through any dereliction of his principles:" indeed the persons in power were not likely to believe him a second time.

He repaired to Strasburgh: where he published among other things a letter or treatise to popish priests, called the "Displaying of the Popish Mass;" while his works were considered as sufficiently important in England to be denounced in a proclamation issued in 1555.

Becon returned home with the other reformers when queen Elizabeth came to the throne. He was restored to his benefice in London, and to his preachingship at Canterbury. But he was not advanced to any high station in the church; the objection to him probably being that he was opposed to the principles of the Church. In 1562 he signed a paper, in conjunction with many other ultra-protestants, containing propositions for the omission of the catholic ceremonies still retained in the church of England. And in 1564 we find him refusing to subscribe to the ecclesiastical regulations which were put to the London clergy for their subscription. The clergy were summoned before the archbishop of Canterbury and the

bishop of London at Lambeth, when, according to Strype, the bishop's chancellor spoke thus: "My masters and the ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel like to this man," pointing to Mr Robert Cole, (a minister likewise of the city who had refused the habits a while, and now complied, and stood before them canonically habited,) "as you see him; that is a square cap, a scholar's gown priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice: and inviolably observe the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and the queen's majesty's injunctions; and the Book of Convocation, [that must be the Thirty-nine Articles.] Ye that will presently subscribe, write *Volo*. Those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief; make no words." And when some would have spoken, the answer was, "Peace, peace." Apparitor, call "the churches;" [that is, the names of each parish church; and each minister to answer when his church was named.] "Masters, answer presently, *sub pœna contemptus*; and set your names." Then the Sumner called first the peculiars of Canterbury; then some of Winchester diocese, [viz. such whose livings were in Southwark;] and lastly, the London ministers.

By these resolute doings many of the incumbents were mightily surprised. And the above mentioned journalist, who was one of them, thus wrote of it: "Men's hearts were tempted and tried. Great was the sorrow of most ministers, and their mourning, saying, We are killed in the soul of our souls for this pollution of ours; for that we cannot perform in the singleness of our hearts this our ministry."

Strype says that Becon refused at first, but afterwards subscribed and was preferred, "as were others that did the like."

He seems to have been noticed by Dr Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, and to have been on friendly terms with him, as a letter is preserved, in which, after men-

tioning his own donation to his grace, of an ancient exposition of the Gospels of St Mark and St Luke, he adds, "My wife, your grace's daily oratrix, hath added her poor present, that is, a couple of fat capons and six chickens." This fact, coupled with his not obtaining higher preferment, at a time when it was difficult to find a sufficient number of respectable men, holding reformation principles, for the higher offices, inclines us to suppose that he was known to be too ultra in his protestantism.

His powers as a popular preacher were probably considerable, as one of his Lent sermons at St Paul's cross, made such an impression on the lord mayor, that his lordship requested the archbishop of Canterbury that Becon might be appointed to preach one of the Spital sermons at the ensuing Easter.

His worldly circumstances were not good, as in several of his prefaces and dedications he bemoans his poverty; he says in his preface to his catechism, written in 1560, he had "ever been attempted with the cruel assaults of envious fortune." But the poverty of a pluralist and a prebendary of Canterbury must only have been comparative. It was not the positive poverty of the primitive Christians.

Becon died at Canterbury in 1563, having been the author of tracts almost innumerable in favour of the reformation: they are now almost forgotten, but have lately been reprinted by the Parker Society, a society to which antiquarians and the collectors of rare books are much indebted. There is a vigor in his style, and often a fervour of devotion in his tone, which must have given an interest and charm to his writings when they were first published; and although his works are disfigured by party feeling, they may be profitably consulted by those who are engaged in writing popular tracts.—*Tanner. Strype's Cranmer and Parker. Lupton's Modern Divines. Life prefixed to the Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works.*

BEDE. "The venerable Bede" was born about the year 673, in a village on the east coast of Northumberland, now covered with the sea. He was a pupil of the noble and learned Benedict Biscop, and studied for some time in the monastery of Benedictines at Weremouth, of which his tutor and patron was the founder. From Weremouth he removed to the monastery of Jarrow, and at the age of nineteen he was ordained deacon by John of Beverley, bishop of Hexham. He continued to devote himself to his studies, which embraced the whole circuit of learned and polite literature of those days, as well as the pursuits most becoming his sacred office, until he was thirty years of age, when he was ordained priest by the same hand which had admitted him to the diaconate.

The duties of priests are thus described in the canons of Edgar:—

"They were forbidden to carry any controversy among themselves to a lay-tribunal: their own companions were to settle it, or the bishop was to determine it.

"No priest was to forsake the church to which he was consecrated, nor to intermeddle with the rights of others, nor to take the scholar of another. He was to learn sedulously his own handicraft, and not put another to shame for his ignorance, but to teach him better. The high-born were not to despise the less-born, nor any to be unrighteous or covetous dealers. He was to baptize whenever required, and to abolish all heathenism and witchcraft. They were to take care of their churches, and apply exclusively to their sacred duties; and not to indulge in idle speech, or idle deeds, or excessive drinking; nor to let dogs come within their church-inclosure, nor more swine than a man might govern.

"They were to celebrate mass only in churches, and on the altar, unless in cases of extreme sickness. They were to have at mass their corporalis garment, and the subucula under their alba; and all their officiating garments were to be woven. Each was to have a good and right book. No one was to celebrate mass, unless fasting, and unless

he had one to make responses ; nor more than three times a day ; nor unless he had, for the Eucharist, pure bread, wine and water. The cup was to be of something molten, not of wood. No woman was to come near the altar during mass. The bell was to be rung at the proper time.

“ They were to preach every Sunday to the people ; and always to give good examples. They were ordered to teach youth with care, and to draw them to some craft. They were to distribute alms, and urge the people to give them, and to sing the psalms during the distribution, and to exhort the poor to intercede for the donors. They were forbidden to swear, and were to avoid ordeals. They were to recommend confession, penitence, and compensation ; to administer the sacrament to the sick, and to anoint him if he desired it ; and the priest was always to keep oil ready for this purpose and for baptism. He was neither to hunt, or hawk, or dice ; but to play with his book as became his condition.”

He now began, but not till he had been requested by the bishop, to apply himself to writing ; and his authorship extended over the same wide field in which he had before laboured as a student. Astrology, poetry, and rhetoric were illustrated by his pen ; he wrote comments on parts of the Holy Scriptures ; and he left behind him an ecclesiastical history of England, which will be his most honourable monument, as long as literature has any being. Besides this, he was much engaged in the instruction of youth, a task which he fulfilled in a manner nobly attested by the future eminence of some of his pupils : nor did his hand cease to labour in those offices which come, from a change of habits, to be accounted menial, though the prosperity of the more exemplary religious societies in those days, partly depended on their being discharged by the honoured hands of the priests and deacons of their fraternity.

His history Bede undertook at the instance of Ceolwulph, king of Northumbria, a great admirer and patron of learned men, and of those especially who led a monastic

life. After Bede's death, Ceolwulph himself, resigned his crown, and became a monk at Lindisfarn; by no means a solitary instance of such a step in those days, and certainly not so ignoble a one as some may sneeringly suggest. There is difficulty enough, and more than enough, in any state of society, to maintain a consistent Christian course, when encumbered with the cares, and solicited by the temptations, of state and splendour: but when princes were either unworthy of their name or must, themselves be their own ministers in every department; and when the whole state of society was so barbarous and irregular as to make it impossible to hold even the right, without violence or policy, which might soon degenerate into treachery and cruelty, a great man might well seek repose and time for the concerns of his soul, before he was called out of this world of preparation for a better. It was perhaps a venial ambition in the monasteries to court such retiring princes to their walls: at any rate, there the noble recluses found a rest congenial with their present wishes; and thence, together with other means, the ecclesiastical bodies acquired wealth, and a weight of influence which gives a colour to the rest of the history of the middle ages.

Of the last hours of Bede we have an account by an eye witness, and nothing can more beautifully attest the truth of his religion, sanctifying all his labours, and bringing him peace at the end. From a fortnight before Easter, until the day of our Lord's accension, he had been troubled with difficulty of breathing; but he continued cheerful, and occupied in his devotions, especially in thanksgiving: nor did he forget the daily lessons, which he read to his disciples. The night too was interrupted with his prayers and hymns, and on Ascension-day singing the Antiphon, "O Glorious King, Lord of power, who, triumphing on this day, didst ascend above all the heavens, forsake not us orphans; but send down upon us the promised Spirit of Truth," at the words forsake us not, he and all with him burst into tears. He was still engaged at such in-

tervals as he could command in dictating a translation into the vernacular tongue of the gospel according to St John. "Dear master," said his attendant, when he was just ready to depart, "there is yet one sentence not written." This he dictated, and said "It is ended. Support my head on your hands, that I may sit facing the holy place where I was wont to pray, and to sing 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;'" when he had named the Holy Ghost his spirit took its flight, and all who beheld him die, said that they had never before seen such devotion and tranquillity.

His death took place on Ascension-day, in the year of grace 735, and he was buried by the brethren of his house, in the south porch of the church of Jarrow. He was long revered as a saint, nor will the true Christian refuse him that most noble title to this day. In such men is the real strength of the Church, though this strength may be visibly wielded by such men as his contemporary Wilfred.

Of the ecclesiastical history of Bede, it will be enough to say, that he had to write of times into the annals of which it is scarcely possible to infuse much interest, yet the evident predominance of one feeling in his own heart, irresistibly leads the heart of his reader with him; and amidst all the incoherency and disjointedness of his incident, which is the fault of his times, there is an admirable unity of thought and design, which is his own peculiar merit. He is every where the Christian and the ecclesiastical historian. His work is the chief authority for the events of the preceding times, and where his task is closed, there history assumes a darker and more uninviting aspect for many generations.

The homilies of Bede were in such repute that they were read in the churches even during his life, and he takes his place among the very best expositors of Holy Writ, in that or any age. His name is inserted in the calendar on the 27th of May, which day the church

of England appoints to be dedicated to his memory, even to the present time. Numberless reasons have been assigned why the epithet venerable should have so inseparably been attached to Bede. It was probably given to him by his contemporaries in his old age, from the peculiar dignity of his manners. The legendary tales relating to the origin of the title are amusing :

We are told that when he grew old, and was through age blind, one of his disciples carried him abroad to a place where there lay a great heap of stones, and told him he was surrounded by a great crowd of people, who waited with silence and attention to receive his spiritual consolation. The old man accordingly made a long discourse, which he concluded with a prayer, and the stones very punctually made their response, "Amen, venerable Bede."

Another story relating to this title, and no less to be credited than the first, is thus reported. A young man a monk studying for an epitaph for Bede got thus far,

Hac sunt in fossa BEDÆ — ossa.

His head not being well turned for poetry, he could find no words to fill up this hiatus ; and after tormenting himself to no purpose, he fell asleep : but the next morning returning to his task, with infinite astonishment he found the line completed thus, by some invisible hand.

Hac sunt in fossa Bedæ venerabilis ossa.

Cave. Bede's Works, edit. by Giles.

BEDELL, WILLIAM, was born in 1570 at Black Notley in the county of Essex. In 1592, he was chosen fellow of Emmanuel college, Cambridge, and took his degree of B D. in 1599. On leaving the university he was presented to the living of St Edmondsbury in Suffolk, where he remained till the year 1604, when he was appointed by Sir Henry Wotton, at that time ambassador to the republic of Venice, to be his chaplain. At Venice he remained for eight years, and formed the friendship of father Paul Sarpi.

Pope Paul the Fifth had at this time placed the republic of Venice under an interdict, and the Venetian senate had taken steps to prevent the execution of the interdict by an act prohibiting the cessation of public worship and the suspension of the Sacraments. The jesuits and Capuchin friars, for obeying the orders of the pope, had been banished from the Venetian territories; and the ablest pens, particularly that of Paul Sarpi, were employed to determine, after an accurate and impartial inquiry, the true limits of the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. This movement, which threatened a separation of the church of Venice from the church of Rome, was viewed with interest by many members of the church of England, but by none more than by Bedell. He translated into Italian the English Prayer Book which was so favourably received by the seven divines, appointed by the republic to preach against the pope, that they were determined to take it as a model for their own, had they been able to establish the independence of their church.

Bedell at this time became acquainted also with the celebrated Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, whom he assisted by correcting his well known book, "*De Republica Ecclesiastica*."

On his return to England he brought with him the manuscript of father Paul's history of the interdict and inquisition, his history of the council of Trent, and a large collection of letters on the controversy in which Paul bore so conspicuous a part; and retiring to his cure at St Edmondsbury, he there employed himself in translating portions of them into latin. Here he married the widow of the recorder of the town. In 1615 he was presented to the living of Horningsheath, and in 1627 he was unanimously elected provost of Trinity college, Dublin: after remaining in this post for two years, by the interest of Laud, then bishop of London, and Sir Thomas Jermyn, he was nominated to the sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, being then in his fifty-ninth year.

He found the church of Ireland in great disorder, and applied himself with vigour to reform the abuses in his own dioceses. He began with that of plurality of benefices. To this end he convened his clergy, and, in a sermon, laid before them the institution, nature, and duties of the ministerial employment, from the Scriptures and the fathers, and after sermon, discoursed to them upon the same subject in latin, and exhorted them to reform that abuse. To prevail on them the better, he told them he resolved to shew them an example in parting with one of his bishoprics, and he accordingly resigned Ardagh. He made several regulations with respect to residence, was extremely watchful of the conduct of the clergy, and no less circumspect in his own behaviour. His ordinations were public and solemn. He preached and administered the Holy Sacrament on such occasions himself. He never ordained any person to priest's orders till a year after his having been made deacon, that he might know how he had behaved during that time. He wrote certificates of ordination and other instruments with his own hand, and suffered none who received them to pay any fees. When he had brought things to such a length, that his clergy were willing to assist him in the great work of reformation, he convened a synod in September, 1638, in which he made many canons which are still extant. There were some who regarded this synod as an illegal assembly, and thought that his presuming to make canons was against law, so that there was some talk of bringing him before the star-chamber, or high-commission court; but his archdeacon, afterwards archbishop of Cashel, gave such an account of the matter as satisfied the state. Archbishop Usher said on this occasion to those who were very earnest for bringing him to answer for his conduct, You had better let him alone, lest, if when provoked, he should say much more for himself, than any of his accusers can say against him. Bedell having observed that the ecclesiastical court in his diocese was a great abuse, being governed by a lay chancellor who had bought the

place from his predecessor, and for that reason thought he had a right to all the profits he could raise: removed the chancellor, and resuming the jurisdiction of a bishop, sat in his own courts and heard causes with a select number of his clergy, by whose advice he gave sentence. The chancellor upon this brought a suit against the bishop into chancery, for invading his office. Bolton, the lord chancellor of Ireland, confirmed the chancellor's right, and gave him a hundred pounds costs against the bishop; and when Bedell asked him how he could give such an unjust decree, he answered, that all his father had left him was a register's place, and therefore he thought he was bound to support those courts, which must be ruined if some check was not given to the bishop's proceedings. The chancellor, however, gave him no further disturbance, nor did he ever call for his costs, but named a surrogate, with orders to obey the bishop. Bishop Bedell was no persecutor of papists, nor did he approve of those who made use of harsh expressions against popery. In an extract of one of Bedell's sermons given us by bishop Burnet, we meet with the following passage: "It is not the storm of words, but the strength of reasons, that shall stay a wavering judgment from errors, &c; when that like a tempest is overblown, the tide of others' examples will carry other men to do as the most do; but these like so many anchors will stick, and not come again. Besides our calling is to deal with errors, not to disgrace the man with scolding words. It is said of Alexander, I think, when he overheard one of his soldiers railing lustily on Darius his enemy, he reprov'd him, and added, Friend, I entertain thee to fight against Darius, not to revile him. Truly it may be well thought that those that take this course shall find but small thanks at Christ's our captain's hands, and it is not unlike but he would say to them, were he here on earth again; 'Masters, I would you should refute popery and set yourselves against antichrist my enemy, with all the discoloured sects and heresies, that fight under his banner against me, and not call him and his troops all to nought!'

And this is my poor opinion concerning our dealing with the papists themselves, perchance differing from men of great note in Christ's family, Mr Luther, and Mr Calvin, and others ; but yet we must live by rules, not examples ; and they were men, who perhaps by complexion or otherwise were given too much to anger and heat." He laboured to convert the more respectable of the popish clergy, and in this he had great success. He procured a translation of the Common Prayer into Irish, and caused it to be read in his cathedral every Sunday. The new testament had also been translated by William Daniel, archbishop of Tuam, and at the bishop's desire, the old testament was first translated into the same language by Mr King; but as King was ignorant of the original tongue, and did it from the English, Bedell himself revised and compared it with the Hebrew, and the best translations. He took care likewise to have some of St Chrysostom's and Leo's homilies in commendation of the Scriptures, translated both into English and into Irish, that the common people might see, that in the opinion of the ancient fathers, they had not only a right to read the Scriptures as well as the clergy, but that it was their duty so to do. When he found the work was finished, he resolved to be at the expense of printing it, but his design was interrupted by a cruel and unjust prosecution carried on against the translator, who not only lost his living, but was also attacked in his character. The bishop supported Mr King as far as he was able, and the translation being finished, he would have had it printed in his own house, if the troubles of Ireland had not prevented it ; it happened fortunately, however, that the translation escaped the hands of the rebels, and was afterwards printed at the expense of Mr Robert Boyle. The bishop always desired to make proselytes by persuasion, and not compulsion ; and it was his opinion, that protestants would agree better, if they could be brought to understand each other. There were some Lutherans at Dublin, who, for not coming to church and taking the Holy Sacrament, were cited into

the archbishop's consistory, upon which they desired time to write to their divines in Germany, which was granted; and when their answers came, they contained some exceptions to the doctrines of the Church, as not explaining the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, with sufficient accuracy: to which bishop Bedell wrote an answer, and the German theologians, who saw it, advised their countrymen to join in communion with the Church, which they accordingly did.

When the rebellion broke out in Ireland, in October, 1641, the bishop at first did not feel the violence of its effects, for even the rebels and dissenters had conceived a great veneration for him, and they declared he should be the last Englishman they would drive out of Ireland. His was the only house in the county of Cavan that was unviolated, and it was filled with the people who fled to him for shelter. About the middle of December, however, the rebels, pursuant to orders received from their council of state at Kilkenny, required him to dismiss the people that were with him, which he refused to do, declaring he would share the same fate with the rest. Upon this they seized him, his two sons, and Mr Clogy, who had married his daughter-in-law, and carried them prisoners to the castle of Cloughboughter, surrounded by a deep water, where they put them all, except the bishop, in irons; the bishop, however, ceased not to give spiritual consolation to those with him, and on Christmas-day administered the Holy Communion to them in prison. After being confined for about three weeks, the bishop and his two sons, and Mr Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O'Rourkes; but though it was agreed that they should be safely conducted to Dublin, yet the rebels would not suffer them to be carried out of the country, but sent them to the house of Denis O'Sheriden. The bishop died soon after he came here, on the 7th of February, 1641, his death being chiefly occasioned by his late imprisonment and the weight of sorrows which lay upon his mind. Nearly all his writings

perished in the rebellion. In 1713 there was printed a poem written by him in the style of Spenser, entitled, *A Protestant Memorial, or the Shepherd's Tale of the Powder Plot*. It was printed from a manuscript found in the library of Dr Dillingham; and in 1742 there were published at Dublin some original letters concerning the steps taken towards a reformation of religion in Venice, on the quarrel between that state and pope Paul the Fifth.—*Burnet's Life of Bedell. Boyle's Works.*

BEDFORD, ARTHUR, was born at Tiddenham in Gloucestershire, in 1668. At the age of sixteen he became a commoner of Brazenose-college, Oxford, where he took his master's degree in 1691. The year following he was presented to the vicarage of Temple Church, Bristol, from whence some years afterwards he removed to Newton St Loe in Somersetshire; but in 1724 he was chosen chaplain to the Haberdasher's Hospital, London, where he died in 1745. His works are—1. *Serious Reflections on the abuse of the Stage*, 8vo. This was followed by some other tracts on the same subject. 2. *The Temple of Music*, 8vo. 3. *The great Abuse of Music*, 8vo. 4. *An Essay on singing David's Psalms*, 8vo. 5. *Animadversions on Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology*, 8vo. 1728. 6. *A Sermon at St Botolph's, Aldgate, against Stage-plays*, 1730, 8vo. 7. *Observations on a Sermon preached by the Rev. A. S. Catcott, before the Corporation of Bristol*, 8vo. 1736. 8. *An Examination of Mr Hutchinson's Remarks, and Mr Catcott's Answer to the Observations, &c.* 8vo. 1738. 9. *Scripture Chronology*, folio, 1741. 10. *Eight Sermons on the Doctrine of the Trinity, at Lady Moyer's Lecture*, 8vo. 1740. 11. *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith stated*, 8vo, 1741. 12. *Horæ Mathematicæ vacuæ, or a Treatise on the Golden and Ecliptic Numbers*, 8vo. 1743.—*Ellis's Hist. of Shoreditch. Republic of Letters.*

BEDFORD, HILKIAH, was born in London in 1663, and

educated at St John's college, Cambridge, on the foundation of Mr Plat, his maternal grandfather. He afterwards obtained a fellowship, took his degree in arts, and, on taking orders, was presented to a living in Lincolnshire, of which he was deprived at the Revolution for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to the prince of Orange, when he had the honour of becoming chaplain to bishop Ken. He then kept a boarding-house for the Westminster scholars; but in 1714 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and a heavy fine for publishing the Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted, the real author of which was George Harbin. Mr Bedford translated an answer to Fontenelle's History of Oracles, and Dr Barwick's Life, into English. He died in 1724.—*Nichols's Literary Anecdotes. Cole's MSS. Athenæ in Brit. Mus.*

BEDFORD, THOMAS, the son of Hilkiah Bedford, was educated at Westminster school, from whence he removed to St John's college, Cambridge, but never took any degree on account of his attachment to the nonjurors, among whom he exercised the ministry at Compton in Derbyshire, where he died in 1773. He was at one time chaplain in the family of Sir John Cotton, Bart., with whom he sojourned at Angers in France. He published, in 1732, *Simeonis monachi Dunelmensis libellus de exordio atque procursu Dunelmensis ecclesiæ*, 8vo. He also wrote an historical Catechism, 8vo. 1742.—*Nichols's Life of Bowyer.*

BEHMEN, or BËHMEN, JACOB, designated by his admirers as the German *theosophist*, was born near Gorlitz, in Upper Lusatia, in 1575. He was a shoemaker by trade, and being of a serious turn of mind, employed his leisure hours in reading religious books, besides which he studied alchemy. In 1612 he published a treatise entitled "Aurora; or, The Rising of the Sun," which gave such offence to George

Richter, dean of Gorlitz, that he complained of it to the magistrates, who commanded Jacob to leave off writing, and stick to his last. He obeyed, and was silent for seven years, when his reputation as a practical chemist gave him encouragement to renew his theological revelations, and during the remaining five years of his life he wrote above twenty books, the best of which was "A Table of his Principles ; or, A Key to his Works." Of Behmen, the following is the account given by Mosheim : " He had a natural propensity towards the investigation of mysteries, and was fond of abstruse and intricate inquiries of every kind ; and having, partly by books and partly by conversation with certain physicians, acquired some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd and the Rosicrucians, which was propagated in Germany with great ostentation during this century, he struck out of the element of fire, by the succours of imagination, a species of theology much more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the intricacies of Heraclitus. Some have bestowed high praises on this enthusiast, on account of his piety, integrity, and sincere love of truth and virtue ; and we shall not pretend to contradict these encomiums. But such as carry their admiration of his doctrine so far as to honour him with the character of an inspired messenger of heaven, or even of a judicious and wise philosopher, must be themselves deceived and blinded in a very high degree ; for never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal, as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a motley mixture of chemical terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notions : ' That the divine grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, that the divine providence observes in the natural world ; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same way that metals are purified from their dross ; ' and this maxim was the principle of his fire theology. He died at Gorlitz, in 1623. His works were

printed at Amsterdam in 1730, under the title of *Theosophia Revelata*. Whatever may have been the errors and eccentricities of Behmen's genius, there must be more of depth in his system than his opponents seem willing to admit, since it was able to bring into captivity such a mind as that of William Law, who employed the last years of his life in preparing a new edition, with a translation, of Behmen's works, which appeared after his death in two vols 4to. According to Dr Henry More the sect of the quakers have borrowed many of their doctrines from Behmen.—*Life by Okeley. Mosheim.*

BELL, WILLIAM, was Educated at Magdalen college, Cambridge, at which university he obtained several prizes. He is entitled to the grateful regard of his alma mater for having established eight scholarships for the orphan sons of poor clergymen. Before his demise he had transferred £15,200, in the three per cents to the university for this object. His other charities were very considerable. He died in 1816 a prebendary of Westminster. He published some works, but they were of little value, and are now forgotten.—*Gentlemen's Magazine.*

BELL, ANDREW, was born at St Andrews in 1753, and in 1789 became chaplain to Fort St George, at Madras. He there introduced a system of education relating to the management of classes, which was subsequently adopted in the National Society for the education of the poor. It has been much modified, but is very far still from being what religious persons would desire. A dissenter, named Lancaster, contended with Dr Bell for the honour of having originated the plan; but the general current of opinion, as well as documentary evidence, awards the honour, such as it is, of its introduction, to Dr Bell. Dr Bell was a prebendary of Westminster, and master of Sherborn hospital, Durham. He died in 1832. He had amassed an immense fortune, and left £120,000 in sup-

port of national institutions and public charities.—*Annual Biography*.

BELLARMINE, ROBERT, was born at Monte-Pulvano in Tuscany, October 4th, 1542; his mother was sister to pope Marcellus II. He became a jesuit in 1560, at the period when the members of that order were exerting themselves to the utmost to paralyze the reformation; and his connection with that order gave the direction to his extraordinary controversial talents. Such was the lead which he took as a controversialist, that it was at him especially that the most eminent protestant polemics directed their attacks; and by so doing they proclaimed him to be what the more timid or more violent of his own communion were slow to admit, the most able and judicious advocate of the Romish cause. Although his prejudices as a Romanist frequently obscured his vision of the truth, yet his candour is admitted by all parties:—by papists, who complained that he exposed their weak points; and by protestants, who insinuated that he must in secret have inclined to their own opinions. His treatise de Romano Pontifico was condemned by pope Sextus V. as injurious to the Roman see, because he referred the papal authority to an indirect rather than a direct grant of Christ; and yet, though falling under the censure of the more violent partizans of papal pretensions, his assertions with respect to papal power were regarded in France as ultra-montane, and his treatise against Barclay was condemned in 1610 by the parliament of Paris. Under the assumed name of Matthew Tortus he attacked king James; when he found in bishop Andrewes, who came forward to vindicate the king, an opponent very different from those with whom he had usually to contend, and he must have learned from him that there is a catholic *via media* between Romanism on the one hand and mere protestantism on the other.

But Bellarmine was not merely a controversialist; he

was distinguished also for his eloquence as a preacher, and indeed such were his powers in this respect, that he received a license to preach, before he had arrived at the canonical age. Having exerted himself as a preacher in Italy, he proceeded afterwards to Flanders, and in 1569 was ordained priest at Ghent, by the celebrated Cornelius Jansen; in the year following he had the honour of being the first jesuit who had ever been appointed professor of theology in the university of Louvain. Here his lectures were attended, and his sermons admired not only by Romanists, but even by protestants.

After having lived seven years in the Low Countries, he returned to Italy, and in 1576, began to read lectures at Rome on points of controversy. This he did with so much applause, that Sixtus V. appointed him to accompany his legate into France, in 1590, as a person who might be of great service, in case of any demand for controversial erudition. He returned to Rome about ten months after, where he had several offices conferred on him by his own society as well as by the pope, and in the year 1599, was created a cardinal. Three years after he had the archbishopric of Capua conferred upon him, which he resigned in 1605, when the pope, Paul V. desired to keep him near his person, his conscience not permitting him to keep a church upon which he could not reside. He was employed in the affairs of the court of Rome, till the year 1621, when, finding himself declining in health, he left the vatican, and retired to the house belonging to the noviciate of the jesuits of St Andrew, where he died the 17th of September, 1621. It appeared on the day of his funeral, that he was regarded as a saint. The Swiss guards belonging to the pope, were placed round his coffin, in order to keep off the crowd, which pressed to touch and kiss the body; and every thing he made use of was carried away, as a venerable relic.

At the end of the century it was proposed in the court of Rome to canonize him, and informations were taken

according to custom to make proof of his sanctity; which having been reported to the congregation of cardinals and consultors on the 7th of July, 1677, of seventeen cardinals, ten voted for his canonization, while the rest thought the proofs insufficient, and of nineteen consultors, sixteen were for his beatification, and three of a contrary opinion.

Such a proceeding is justly offensive to those who hold Catholic as distinguished from Romish principles.—*Dupin. Moreri. Butler. Alegambe Biblioth. Script. Soc.*

BELSHAM, THOMAS, was born in 1750, at Bedford, where his father was a dissenting preacher of the presbyterian persuasion. From calvinism Belsham passed on to socinianism. He contended resolutely for the principle that the Bible and the Bible only, interpreted according to each man's private judgment, is the religion of protestants; and according to his private judgment, the Bible taught what he called unitarianism. He was elected in 1794 by a congregation at Hackney, to preach to them, and he continued to be their preacher till 1805, when he went to the meeting-house in Essex-street, London. He died in 1829. He was principally concerned in what his party called the improved version of the New Testament, which was published in 1808; a work prepared by persons so deficient in scholarship, as to have been discreditable to the society under whose auspices it was published. Among those who maintained the right of private judgment, as among the "unitarians" generally, Belsham held during the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century, a distinguished place.—*Annual Biog.*

BENEDICT, SAINT, was born in 480, in the duchy of Spoleto, and was educated at Rome. Disgusted by the dissipation of his fellow students at Rome, he retired to the desert of Subiaco, about forty miles from that city, where, concealed in a cave, he was supplied with food by a hermit named Romanus, who used to descend to him by a rope.

This life he pursued for three years, during which time he employed himself in giving instructions to the shepherds who frequented the neighbourhood, and at length was chosen by the monks of a neighbouring monastery to be their abbot. Here his severity and asceticism caused such dissatisfaction, that it is said that the monks attempted to poison him; indeed the Romish legends assert that he was only saved by a miracle. At all events, he thought fit to retire from his post, and on returning to his solitude, was followed by many persons, who placed themselves under his direction, and in a short time he was able to erect twelve monasteries, each containing twelve monks, and all being under his direction. The monasteries of the west had adopted a very lax rule, and Benedict was determined to introduce a strict one. But he met with much opposition from a faction headed by a neighbouring clergyman. In all ages the attempt to lead a strict and ascetic life has been met by the fierce opposition of those who think themselves injured if others endeavour to lead a more evangelical life than they: and such was the opposition to which Benedict was exposed, that in 528 he and his monks were obliged to remove from Subiaco. He retired to Monte Cassino, where idolatry still prevailed, and a temple stood to Apollo. He converted the people, destroyed the image of Apollo, and erected two chapels on the mountain. Here also he founded a monastery, which became the model for all the monasteries of Western Europe. It was here too that he composed his "*Regula Monachorum*," of which Gregory the great, speaks in terms of high approbation. We are indebted to Mr Maitland for the following translation of the prologue and the fourth chapter:—

“Hear, O my son, the precepts of a master; and incline the ear of thine heart; and cheerfully receive, and affectionally fulfil, the admonition of an affectionate father; that, by the labour of obedience, thou mayest return to him, from whom thou hast departed by the sloth of disobedience. To thee therefore my discourse is now directed—

whosoever, renouncing the desires of self, and about to serve as a soldier of the Lord Christ, the true King, dost assume the most powerful and noble arms of obedience.

“ In the first place, you must, with most urgent prayer, entreat that whatsoever good thing you take in hand, may through Him be brought to completion ; that He who hath condescended now to reckon us in the number of His sons, may not be obliged to grieve over our ill conduct. For He is ever to be served by us, with those good things which are His own ; so served by us as that not only He may not, as an angry father, disinherit his sons,—but that He may not, as a master who is to be feared, be so incensed by our sins, as to deliver over to eternal punishment, as most wicked servants, those who would not follow Him to glory.

“ Let us, however, at length arise ; for the Scripture arouses us, saying, ‘ That now it is high time to awake out of sleep ;’ and, our eyes being opened to the divine light, let us hear with astonished ears the voice which every day admonishes us, ‘ To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts ;’ and again, ‘ He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches ;’ and what saith He ? ‘ Come, ye children, hearken unto me : I will teach you the fear of the Lord’—‘ Run while ye have the light of life, lest the darkness of death overtake you.’

“ And the Lord, seeking for his workman among the multitude of the people, whom He thus addresses, saith again, ‘ What man is he that desireth life, and will see good days ?’ And if when you hear this you answer ‘ I,’ God saith unto you, ‘ If thou wilt have life, keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. Depart from evil, and do good ; seek peace and pursue it.’ And when you shall have done this, ‘ My eyes are upon you, and My ears are towards your prayers ; and before ye call upon Me I will say unto you ‘ Here am I.’ ” Most dear brethren, what is sweeter than this voice of the Lord

inviting us? Behold, in His mercy, the Lord points out to us the way of life.

“ Our loins therefore being girded, and our feet shod with faith and the observance of good works, let us, under the guidance of the gospel, go forth on His ways, that we may be counted worthy to see Him who hath called us, in His kingdom. In the tabernacle of Whose kingdom, if we desire to dwell, we can by no means attain our desire, except by running in the way of good works. But let us inquire of the Lord with the prophet, and say unto Him, ‘ Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle, and who shall rest in Thy holy mountain? After this inquiry, brethren, let us hear the Lord replying, and shewing us the way of His tabernacle, and saying, ‘ He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; he that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.’ Who turning away the eyes of his heart from the wicked Devil who tempts him, and from his temptation, hath brought him to nought, and hath taken the young thoughts which he hath bred and dashed them to pieces on Christ. Who, fearing the Lord, are not puffed up by their good works; but who, considering that those good things which are in them could not be wrought by themselves, but by the Lord, magnify the Lord who worketh in them, saying with the prophet, ‘ Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory.’ Like as the apostle Paul reckoned nothing of his preaching, saying, ‘ By the grace of God I am what I am;’ and again he says, ‘ He that glorifieth let him glory in the Lord.’

“ Hence also it is, that our Lord saith in the gospel, ‘ Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock.’ While the Lord does all this, He expects every day that we should respond to His holy

admonitions, by our actions. Therefore it is, that the days of this life are extended as a respite for the emendation of what is evil; as the apostle says, ‘Knowest thou not that the long suffering of God leadeth thee to repentance?’ For the merciful God hath said, “I desire not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live.’

“When therefore, my brethren, we inquire of the Lord, ‘who shall abide in Thy tabernacle?’ we thus hear the rule of habitation; and if we fulfil the duty of an inhabitant, we shall be heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore our hearts and bodies are to be prepared to go forth to the warfare of holy obedience to the commandments; and, because it is impossible to our nature, let us ask the Lord of His grace that He would assist us with His help. And if, flying from the pains of hell, we desire to obtain eternal life, while yet there is opportunity and we are in this body, and space is afforded to fulfil all these things by this life of light, we must now run and labour for that which shall profit us for ever.

“We must, therefore, institute a school of service to the Lord; in which institution we trust that we shall appoint nothing harsh or burdensome. If, however, anything a little severe should, on reasonable grounds of equity, be enjoined for the correction of vices, and the preservation of charity, do not in sudden alarm fly from the way of safety, which can only be begun by a narrow entrance. In the progress, however, of our conversation and faith, the heart being enlarged with the ineffable sweetness of love, we run the way of God’s commandments, so that never departing from His governance, remaining under His teaching in the monastery until death, we through patience are partakers of Christ’s sufferings, that we may be counted worthy to be partakers of His kingdom.”

The first chapter of the rule is on various kinds of monks—the second, on the qualifications and duties of an abbot—the third, on the duty of the abbot to take counsel with the brethren—and the fourth is headed,

“Quæ sint instrumenta bonorum operum.” This title has given some trouble to commentators; and the reader may translate it as he pleases. “It is not my business,” says Mr Maitland, “to criticise it, especially as the chapter itself is intelligible enough. It contains seventy-two brief injunctions, from whence we may form some general opinion as to what those who bound themselves by this rule did, and did not, undertake. Most of the other seventy-two chapters of the rule consist of regulations respecting the organization and management of their society, which would, of course, occupy the most room; but it seems to me that this one chapter should at least qualify the statements of those who profess to have found nothing but a body of heartless forms.

“1. In the first place, to love the Lord God with the whole heart, whole soul, whole strength. 2. Then his neighbour as himself. 3. Then not to kill. 4. Then not to commit adultery. 5. Not to steal. 6. Not to covet. 7. Not to bear false witness. 8. To honour all men. 9. And what any one would not have done to him, let him not do to another. 10. To deny himself, that he may follow Christ. 11. To chasten the body. 12. To renounce luxuries. 13. To love fasting. 14. To relieve the poor. 15. To clothe the naked. 16. To visit the sick. 17. To bury the dead. 18. To help in tribulation. 19. To console the afflicted. 20. To disengage himself from worldly affairs. 21. To set the love of Christ before all other things. 22. Not to give way to anger. 23. Not to bear any grudge. 24. Not to harbour deceit in the heart. 25. Not to make false peace. 26. Not to forsake charity. 27. Not to swear, lest haply he perjure himself. 28. To utter truth from his heart and his mouth. 29. Not to return evil for evil. 30. Not to do injuries; and to bear them patiently. 31. To love his enemies. 32. Not to curse again those who curse him; but rather to bless them. 33. To endure persecutions for righteousness’ sake. 34. Not to be proud. 35. Not given to wine. 36. Not gluttonous. 37. Not addicted to sleep. 38. Not sluggish.

39. Not given to murmur. 40. Not a slanderer. 41. To commit his hope to God. 42. When he sees any thing good in himself, to attribute it to God, and not to himself. 43. But let him always know, that which is evil in his own doing, and impute it to himself. 44. To fear the day of judgment. 45. To dread Hell. 46. To desire eternal life, with all spiritual longing. 47. To have the expectation of death every day before his eyes. 48. To watch over his actions at all times. 49. To know certainly that, in all places, the eye of God is upon him. 50. Those evil thoughts which come into his heart immediately to dash to pieces on Christ. 51. And to make them known to his spiritual senior. 52. To keep his lips from evil and wicked discourse. 53. Not to be fond of much talking. 54. Not to speak vain words, or such as provoke laughter. 55. Not to love much or violent laughter. 56. To give willing attention to the sacred readings. 57. To pray frequently. 58. Every day to confess his past sins to God, in prayer, with tears and groaning; from thenceforward to reform as to those sins. 59. Not to fulfil the desires of the flesh; to hate self-will. 60. In all things to obey the commands of the abbot, even though he himself (which God forbid) should do otherwise; remembering our Lord's command, 'What they say, do; but what they do, do ye not.' 61. Not to desire to be called a saint before he is one, but first to be one that he may be truly called one. 62. Every day to fulfil the commands of God in action. 63. To love chastity. 64. To hate nobody. 65. To have no jealousy; to indulge no envy. 66. Not to love contention. 67. To avoid self-conceit. 68. To reverence seniors. 69. To love juniors. 70. To pray for enemies, in the love of Christ. 71. After a disagreement, to be reconciled before the going down of the sun. 72. And never to despair of the mercy of God."

These rules have given rise to many disputes among the disciples of St Benedict, which are of no interest to the general reader or ordinary Christian.

The date of his death is differently given by ancient writers : by some it is placed as early as 542, by others as late as 547.—*Mabillon. Moreri. Fosbrook. Maitland.*

BENEDICT, BISCOP, was born about the year 628, being descended from a noble lineage of the *Angles*, and as Bede pleasantly remarks, “being by corresponding dignity of mind worthy to be exalted into the company of *angels*.” This article will be taken entirely from venerable Bede’s *Vita Beatorum Abbatum*. Bede informs us that Benedict Biscop was the minister of Oswy king of Northumbria, and by his gift enjoyed an estate suitable to his rank ; but at the age of twenty-five, he relinquished a secular life and made a journey to Rome, the capital at that time of the civilized world. On his return home he exerted himself to establish among his own countrymen the precepts of ecclesiastical life, which he had seen and admired in Italy. In 665 he made a second journey to Rome, and after some months went to the island of Lerins, where he became an inmate of the monastery, and was regularly initiated into all the requirements of conventual life. From Lerins he once more returned to Rome, which he reached at an important juncture : “at that time,” says the venerable Bede, “Egbert, king of Kent, had sent out of Britain a man who had been elected to the office of bishop, Wighard by name, who had been adequately taught by the Roman disciples of the blessed pope Gregory in Kent on every topic of Church discipline ; but the king wished him to be ordained bishop at Rome, in order that, having him for bishop of his own nation and language, he might himself, as well as his people, be the more thoroughly master of the words and mysteries of the holy faith ; as he would then have these administered, not through an interpreter, but from the hands and by the tongue of a kinsman and fellow-countryman. But Wighard, on coming to Rome died of a disease, with all his attendants, before he had received the dignity of bishop. Now the pope,

that the embassy of the faithful might not fail through the death of their ambassadors, called a council, and appointed one of his Church to send as archbishop into Britain. This was Theodore, a man deep in all secular and ecclesiastical learning, whether Greek or Latin; and to him was given, as a colleague and counsellor, a man equally strenuous and prudent, the abbot Hadrian. Perceiving also that the reverend Benedict would become a man of wisdom, industry, piety, and nobility of mind, he committed to him the newly ordained bishop, with his followers, enjoining him to abandon the travel which he had undertaken for Christ's sake; and with a higher good in view, to return home to his country, and bring into it that teacher of wisdom whom it had so earnestly wished for, and to be to him an interpreter and guide, both on the journey thither, and afterwards, upon his arrival, when he should begin to preach. Benedict did as he was commanded; they came to Kent, and were joyfully received there; Theodore ascended his episcopal throne, and Benedict took upon himself to rule the monastery of the blessed apostle Peter, of which, afterwards, Hadrian became abbot.

He ruled the monastery for two years; and then successfully, as before, accomplished a third voyage from Britain to Rome, and brought back a large number of books on sacred literature, which he had either bought at a price or received as gifts from his friends. On his return he arrived at Vienne, where he took possession of such as he had entrusted his friends to purchase for him. When he had come home, he determined to go to the court of Conwalh, king of the West Saxons, whose friendship and services he had already more than once experienced. But Conwalh died suddenly about this time, and he therefore directed his course to his native province. He came to the court of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, and gave an account of all that he had done since in youth he had left his country. He made no secret of his zeal for religion, and showed what ecclesiastical or monastic

instructions he had received at Rome and elsewhere. He displayed the holy volumes and relics of Christ's blessed apostles and martyrs, which he had brought, and found such favour in the eyes of the king, that he forthwith gave him seventy hides of land out of his own estates, and ordered a monastery to be built thereon for the first pastor of his church. This was done at the mouth of the river Were, on the left bank, in the 674th year of our Lord's incarnation, in the second indiction, and in the fourth year of king Egfrid's reign.

After the interval of a year, Benedict crossed the sea into Gaul, and no sooner asked than he obtained and carried back with him some masons to build him a church in the Roman style, which he had always admired. So much zeal did he show from his love to Saint Peter, in whose honour he was building it, that within a year from the time of laying the foundation, you might have seen the roof on and the solemnity of the mass celebrated therein. When the work was drawing to completion, he sent messengers to Gaul to fetch makers of glass, (more properly artificers,) which was at this time unknown in Britain, that they might glaze the windows of his church, with the cloisters and dining rooms. This was done, and they came, and not only finished the work required, but taught the English nation their handicraft, which was well adapted for enclosing the lanterns of the church, and for the vessels required for various uses. All other things necessary for the service of the church and the altar, the sacred vessels, and the vestments, because they could not be procured in England, he took especial care to buy and bring home from foreign parts.

“Some decorations and muniments there were, which could not be procured even in Gaul, and these the pious founder determined to fetch from Rome; for which purpose, after he had formed the rule for his monastery, he made his fourth voyage to Rome, and returned loaded with more abundant spiritual merchandise than before. In the first place, he brought back a large quantity of

books of all kinds; secondly, a great number of relics of Christ's apostles and martyrs, all likely to bring a blessing on many an English church; thirdly, he introduced the Roman mode of chanting, singing, and ministering in the church, by obtaining permission from pope Agatho to take back with him John, the arch-chanter of the church of St Peter, and abbot of the monastery of St Martin, to teach the English. This John, when he arrived in England, not only communicated instruction by teaching personally, but left behind him numerous writings, which are still preserved in the library of the same monastery. In the fourth place, Benedict brought with him a thing by no means to be despised, namely, a letter of privilege from pope Agatho, *which he had procured, not only with the consent, but by the request and exhortation, of king Egfrid*, and by which the monastery was rendered safe and secure for ever from foreign invasion. Fifthly, he brought with him pictures of sacred representations, to adorn the church of St Peter, which he had built; namely, a likeness of the Virgin Mary and of the twelve apostles, with which he intended to adorn the central nave, on boarding placed from one wall to the other; also some figures from ecclesiastical history for the south wall, and others from the Revelation of St John for the north wall; so that every one who entered the church, even if they could not read, wherever they turned their eyes, might have before them the amiable countenance of Christ and his saints, though it were but in a picture, and with watchful minds might revolve on the benefits of our Lord's incarnation, and having before their eyes the perils of the last judgment, might examine their hearts the more strictly on that account.

In 682 he received a further donation of land from Egfrid, and upon this new estate he built the monastery of Jarrow, and placed therein seventeen monks under an abbot named Ceolfrid. About the same time he appointed a presbyter, Easterwine, to be joint abbot with himself of

St Peter's monastery, at Weremouth, that, with the help of this fellow soldier, he might sustain a burden otherwise too heavy for him. Soon after this he took his fifth and last journey to Rome, and as before, came back enriched with a further supply of ecclesiastical books and pictures. He brought with him, says Bede, pictures of the saints, as numerous as before. He also brought with him pictures out of our Lord's history, which he hung round the chapel of our Lady in the larger monastery; and others to adorn St Paul's church and monastery, ably describing the connexion of the Old and New Testament: as, for instance, Isaac bearing the wood for his own sacrifice, and Christ carrying the cross on which he was about to suffer, were placed side by side. Again, the serpent raised up by Moses in the desert was illustrated by the Son of Man exalted on the cross. Among other things, he brought two cloaks, all of silk, and of incomparable workmanship, for which he received an estate of three hides on the south bank of the river Were, near its mouth, from king Alfrid, for he found on his return that Egfrid had been murdered during his absence.

But, amid this prosperity, he found afflictions also awaiting his return. The venerable Easterwine, whom he had made abbot when he departed, and many of the brethren committed to his care, had died of a general pestilence. But for this loss he found some consolation in the good and reverend deacon, Sigfrid, whom the brethren and his co-abbot Ceolfrid had chosen to be his successor. He was a man well skilled in the knowledge of Holy Scripture, of most excellent manners, of wonderful continence, and one in whom the virtues of the mind were in no small degree depressed by bodily infirmity, and the innocence of whose heart was tempered with a baneful and incurable affection of the lungs.

Not long after, Benedict himself was seized by a disease. For, that the virtue of patience might be a trial of their religious zeal, the Divine Love laid both of

them on the bed of temporal sickness, that when they had conquered their sorrows by death, He might cherish them for ever in heavenly peace and quietude. Benedict died of a palsy, which grew upon him for three whole years; so that when he was dead in all his lower extremities, his upper and vital members, spared to show his patience and virtue, were employed in the midst of his sufferings in giving thanks to the Author of his being, in praises to God, and exhortations to the brethren. He urged the brethren, when they came to see him, to observe the rule which he had given then. ‘For,’ said he, ‘you cannot suppose that it was my own untaught heart which dictated this rule to you. I learnt it from seventeen monasteries, which I saw during my travels, and most approved of, and I copied these institutions thence for your benefit.’ The large and noble library, which he had brought from Rome, and which was necessary for the edification of his church, he commanded to be kept entire, and neither by neglect to be injured or dispersed. But on one point he was most solicitous, in choosing an abbot, lest high birth, and not rather probity of life and doctrine, should be attended to. ‘And I tell you of a truth,’ said he, ‘in the choice of two evils, it would be much more tolerable for me, if God so pleased, that this place, wherein I have built the monastery, should for ever become a desert, than that any carnal brother, who, as we know, walks not in the way of truth, should become abbot, and succeed me in its government. Wherefore, my brethren, beware, and never choose an abbot on account of his birth, nor from any foreign place; but seek out, according to the rule of abbot Benedict the Great, and the decrees of our order, with common consent, from amongst your own company, whoever in virtue of life and wisdom of doctrine may be found fittest for this office; and whomsoever you shall, by this unanimous inquiry of Christian charity, prefer and choose, let him be made abbot, with the customary blessings, in the presence of the bishop. For those who after the flesh beget children of the flesh, must necessarily

seek fleshly and earthly heirs to their fleshly and earthly inheritance; but those who by the spiritual seed of the Word procreate spiritual sons to God, must of like necessity be spiritual in every thing that they do. Among their spiritual children, they think him the greatest who is possessed of the most abundant grace of the Spirit, in the same way as earthly parents consider their eldest as the principal one of their children, and prefer him to the others in dividing out their inheritance.'

Nor must we, says Bede, omit to mention that the venerable abbot Benedict, to lessen the wearisomeness of the night, which from his illness he often passed without sleeping, would frequently call a reader, and cause him to read aloud, as an example for himself, the history of the patience of Job, or some other extract from Scripture, by which his pains might be alleviated, and his depressed soul be raised to heavenly things. And because he could not get up to pray, nor without difficulty lift up his voice to the usual extent of daily psalmody, the prudent man, in his zeal for religion, at every hour of daily or nightly prayer would call to him some of the brethren, and making them sing psalms in two companies, would himself sing with them, and thus make up by their voices for the deficiency of his own.

Now both the abbots saw that they were near death, and unfit longer to rule the monastery, from increasing weakness, which, though tending no doubt to the perfection of Christian purity, was so great, that, when they expressed a desire to see one another before they died, and Sigfrid was brought in a litter into the room where Benedict was lying on his bed, though they were placed by the attendants with their heads on the same pillow, they had not the power of their own strength to kiss one another, but were assisted even in this act of fraternal love. After taking counsel with Sigfrid and the other brethren, Benedict sent for Ceolfrid, abbot of St Paul's, dear to him not by relationship of the flesh, but by the ties of Christian virtue, and with the consent and approbation of all, made

him abbot of both monasteries; thinking it expedient in every respect to preserve peace, unity, and concord between the two, if they should have one father and ruler for ever, after the example of the kingdom of Israel, which always remained invincible and inviolate by foreign nations as long as it was ruled by one and the same governor of its own race; but when for its former sins it was torn into opposing factions, it fell by degrees, and, thus shorn of its ancient integrity, perished. He reminded them also of that evangelical maxim, ever worthy to be remembered,—‘A kingdom divided against itself shall be laid waste.’

Two months after this, God’s chosen servant, the venerable abbot Sigfrid, having passed through the fire and water of temporal tribulation, was carried to the resting-place of everlasting repose: he entered the mansion of the heavenly kingdom, rendering up whole offerings of praise to the Lord which his righteous lips had vowed; and after another space of four months, Benedict, who so nobly vanquished sin and wrought the deeds of virtue, yielded to the weakness of the flesh, and came to his end. Night came on chilled by the winter’s blasts, but a day of eternal felicity succeeded, of serenity and of splendour. The brethren met together at the church, and passed the night without sleep in praying and singing, consoling their sorrow for their father’s departure by one continued outpouring of praise.

His death occurred on the 14th of January, 690.—*Vitæ Beatorum Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girvensium Benedicti, &c. auctore Beda. Edit. Giles.*

BENEDICT, of Peterborough, was born in the twelfth century, and educated at Oxford, where he was made a doctor in divinity; becoming a benedictine monk in Christ church, Canterbury, he was elected prior of that house. Though a great admirer of Thomas à Becket, he was so much esteemed by Henry II, that by the influence of that prince, he obtained the abbacy of Peterborough in

the year 1177. He assisted at the coronation of Richard I. in 1189, and was made keeper of the great seal in 1191.

He wrote the life of Thomas á Becket, and has been called by Bale a vile impostor; but the censure of Bale will not much damage any reputation, the character of that bishop of Ossory, for scurrility, being too well known. (See his life.) Dr Cave informs us that the author of the "Quadrilogus" transcribed the greater part of Benedict's life of Becket into the third and fourth books of his work.

Benedict died on Michaelmas day, 1193. *Biog. Brit Leland. Bale. Nicholson.*

BENEDICT, of Gloucester, a monk of the great abbey there, of whose time nothing is known. He has left a life of Dubricius, archbishop of Caerleon, printed by Wharton, (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 654.) This relates the translation of Dubricius, in 1120; consequently the author must have lived after that year, and the MS. used is thought not much later. (*Angl. Sacr. ii. Præf.*)

BENEDICT, of Norwich, a learned monk, author of several works, one of which was entitled, *Alphabetum Aristotelis*. He died and was buried at Norwich in the year 1340.

BENEDICT, or BENOIST, was born in Languedoc A. D. 750. He was son of Aigulfe, count of Languedoc, who was distinguished by his fidelity to king Pepin, and by the courage with which he defeated the Gascons, who invaded his territories. Aigulfe sent his son Benoist to the court of Pepin, where he first served as cup-bearer, and was afterwards in the army. After the death of Pepin, he entered the service of Charlemagne. An accident by which he was nearly drowned struck him so forcibly that he then began in earnest to think of his salvation: he resolved to retire from the world, quitted his parents, and intended to go to Aix la Chapelle, but passing through Burgundy, he stopped at the abbey of St Seine, in the

diocese of Langres, near Dijon, and became a monk in that house.

Two years and a half were passed by him in austerities and fastings; and when the abbot of St Seine died, the monks wished to elect Benoist into his place, which he declined, again passed into Languedoc (780,) and there built a hermitage near a chapel dedicated to St Saturninus, situated upon the stream called the *Aniane*. This hermitage increased by degrees until it became a considerable convent, where there were 300 monks. The zeal of Benoist of Aniane became noted, and led him to undertake the reformation of monasteries, and the restoration of discipline, both monastic and ecclesiastical: he also withstood the errors of Felix of Elipandis.

Louis the Debonaire sent for Benoist and made him chief over all the monasteries in France. He assisted at the council of Aix la Chapelle, and presided over an assembly of abbots, at which he drew up rules and statutes to regulate the monastic life; these were authorized by the king, and sent to all the religious houses in France.

Benoist died in 821, at the monastery of Inde, called since St Cornelius, which he had established near Aix la Chapelle. This holy abbot was in France and Germany what St Benedict was in Italy. He compiled a collection of rules belonging to the Eastern and Western monks, called *Codex Regularum*, with a concord, to shew the superiority of the rule of St Benedict. He also prepared a collection of homilies from the fathers, and a penitential office.

The life of Benoist of Aniane was written by Ardon Shearagdus, and given with a collection of his works in 1648, together with curious notes by Hugo Mainard, a learned Benedictine.—*Mabillon. Bulteau's Hist. Monast. d'Ocad. Herschinius Dissert. sur Benoit d'Aniane. Baillet vies des Saints. Dupin.*

BENEDICTUS, PETER, was born at Gusta, in Phœnicia, in 1663. He received his education in the Maronite

college at Rome, where he made a great progress in Oriental learning. After occupying the Hebrew professorship at Pisa, at the age of forty-four he became a jesuit, but without losing the respect in which he was held by the Maronites. He died at Rome in 1742. He commenced an edition of Ephrem Syrus, his venerable countryman, a father of the Church; the edition was completed by Assemani. Benedictus also translated part of the Greek menology.—*Biog. Univ.*

BENEDICT, RENE, or RENATUS, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and curate of St Eustathius, at Paris, was born at Sevenieres, near Angers. He secretly inclined to protestantism, and published at Paris the French translation of the Scriptures, made by the reformed ministers at Geneva. The version, after having been approved by several doctors of the Sorbonne, and a privilege granted for printing it, was on publication condemned, no doubt on account of its origin being discovered. He was confessor to Mary queen of Scots when she was in France. Some time before the death of Henry III. of France, Benedict published a book entitled *Apologie Catholique*, to shew that the protestantism of Henry of Navarre was not a sufficient reason to deprive him of his right of succession to the throne, because the Huguenots admitted the fundamental articles of the catholic faith, and because the ceremonies and practices which they rejected were not observed in the primitive church. He contended also that the council of Trent which condemned them, was neither a general council, nor acknowledged by the church of France. Benedict assisted in the assembly at St Denis, which advised Henry of Navarre to be reconciled to the church, for which that monarch appointed him bishop of Troyes, but he could never be induced to apply for the papal bulls, so that he only enjoyed its temporalities. He died at Angers in 1608. His works are—1. *Apologie Catholique*. 2. *History of the Coronation of Henry IV.* 8vo.—*Moreri.*

BENEDICTUS, LEVITA, flourished in the early part of the ninth century, and was a deacon of Mentz. He is chiefly distinguished as the author of a collection of capitularies in three books, which he compiled at the request of Otgar, archbishop of Mentz, about the year 847. It is joined to the four books of Ansegisus, and forms the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of capitularies.—*Biog. Univ.*

BENEFIELD, SEBASTIAN, of the seventeenth century, born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire, August 12th, 1559. He was admitted a scholar of Corpus Christi college, in Oxford, August 30th, 1586, and chosen probationer-fellow, April 16th, 1590. After he had taken his degree of master of arts, he entered into holy orders; and in 1599, was appointed rhetoric reader in his college, and the year following admitted to the reading of the sentences. In 1608, he took the degree of doctor of divinity, and five years after, was appointed Margaret professor of divinity in that university. He discharged this office with great success for fourteen years, when he resigned it, and retired to his rectory of Meysey Hampton, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire, into which he had been inducted several years before. He spent here the remainder of his life; and was eminent for piety, integrity, and extensive learning. He was well skilled in all arts of knowledge, and extremely conversant in the writings of the fathers and schoolmen. He was a sedentary man, and fond of retirement, which rendered him less easy and affable in conversation. He was particularly attached to the opinions of Calvin, especially that of predestination; so that he has been styled a downright and doctrinal Calvinist. He died at Meysey Hampton, August 24th, 1630, and was buried in the chancel of the church, on the 29th of the same month. He wrote the following treatises:—1. *Doctrinæ Christianæ sex capita totidem prælectionibus in schola Theolog. Oxon. pro forma habitis discussa et desceptata.* Oxford, 1610, 4to.

2. Appendix ad caput secundum de conciliis Evangelicis etcet. adversus Humphredum Leech. 3. Eight sermons publicly preached in the university of Oxford, the second at St Peter's in the East, the rest at St Mary's church. Oxford, 1614, in 4to. 4. The sin against the Holy Ghost, and other Christian doctrines, delivered in twelve sermons, upon part of the tenth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. Oxford, 1615, in 4to. 5. A Commentary, or Exposition upon the first chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one sermons, in the parish church of Meysey Hampton, in the diocese of Gloucester. Oxford, 1613, in 4to. 6. Several sermons. 7. Commentary, or Exposition upon the second chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one sermons, in the parish church of Meysey Hampton, &c. London, 1620, in 4to. 8. Prælectiones de perseverantia sanctorum. Francfort, 1618, in 8vo. 9. Commentary, or Exposition on the third chapter of Amos, &c. London, 1629, in 4to. 10. A Latin sermon upon Revelations. —*Biog. Brit.*

BENGEL, or BENGELIUS, was born at Winnedin, in Wirtemberg, in 1687, and became divinity professor at Tübingen, in Suabia. His works are—1. Novi Testamenti Græci recte cauteque adornandi prodromus, 8vo. 2. Notitia Nov. Test. Græc. recte cauteque adornati, 8vo. 3. Novum Test. Græc. cum introductione in Crisin N. T. Apparatu Critico et Epilogo, 4to. 4. Gnomon Nov. Test. 4to. 5. Cyclus, sive de anno magno solis, lunæ, stellarum consideratio, &c. 8vo. 6. Ordo Temporum, 8vo. He held the doctrine of the millenium, the commencement of which he placed in the year 1836. Dr John Robertson published a translation of his Introduction to the Exposition of the Apocalypse, 8vo. 1757. His edition of the New Testament created a great sensation in the theological world at its first appearance, though his labours as a critic have been superseded by Witstein. He died in 1752.—*Bp. Marsh's Lectures. Gen. Dict.*

BENIGNUS was the son of Sesgnen, a man of power and wealth in Meath, who hospitably entertained St Patrick in the year 433. The following account of him is given by Jocelin :

“Sesgnen had a son, whom St Patrick baptized, and adapting his name to his disposition, called him Benignus ; and, in truth, his life and temper made good the name ; for he was gentle and good natured, beloved by God and men, and worthy of glory and honour both in this world and the next. This youth stuck close to the side of the prelate, and could by no means be kept asunder from him : for when the holy man was going to take his rest, this most pure child running from his father and mother, cast himself at his feet, and pressing them with his hands to his breast, and imprinting many kisses thereon, rested with him. On the morrow, when St Patrick was prepared for his journey, and ready to get into his chariot, the boy laid hold of his foot beseeching and adjuring him not to leave him behind ; and when both his parents would have separated him from their guest, and retained him with them, the lad, with tears and lamentations, begged them to let him go with his spiritual father. The Saint, seeing such great devotion in so tender a heart and body, blessed him in the name of the Lord ; and, taking him up in his chariot, prophesied, ‘That he should be the successor of his ministry, as indeed he was : for this same Benignus succeeded St Patrick in the government of his bishopric and primacy of all Ireland ; and, at length, being celebrated for his great virtues and miracles, he rested in the Lord.’”

It is supposed that he was baptized by the name of Stephen, which accordingly is one of the appellations given to him. He obtained the name of Benin, whence Benignus, from the sweetness of his disposition, the word Bin in the Irish language signifying sweet. He was the constant companion of St Patrick through the entire course of his mission, and by some writers it is supposed that the government of the church was consigned to him during

the lifetime of that prelate ; he certainly succeeded to the see of Armagh in the year 455. Several poems regulating the tributes and privileges of the monarchs and provincial kings of Ireland, which are still extant in the Irish language, are attributed to Benignus, and, as Mr Todd observes, are some proof that the Church had so advanced in his time, as to be permitted to take an interest in the civil affairs of the country. According to William of Malmesbury, he relinquished his see before the end of his life, and died a hermit at Firlingmore, near Glastonbury. —*Usher. Biog. Brit. Todd's Hist. of the Irish Church.*

BENNET, THOMAS, was born in 1673, and sent to St John's college, Cambridge, in 1688. In 1699 he published an Answer to the Dissenters' Pleas for Separation. In the next year he was presented by bishop Compton to the rectory of St James's, Colchester, where he became an active parish priest. He now published his Confutation of Popery, which was followed in 1702 by a Discourse of Schism ; in which he shews what is meant by schism ; that schism is a damnable sin ; that there is a schism between the church of England and the dissenters. That this schism is to be charged on the dissenters' side ; that the modern pretences of toleration, agreement in fundamentals, &c. will not excuse the dissenters from being guilty of schism. In 1705 he printed at Cambridge his Confutation of Quakerism, and in 1708 A Brief History of the joint use of Precomposed Forms of Prayer, in which he shews that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, His Apostles, and the primitive Christians, never joined in any prayers, but precomposed set forms only ; that those precomposed set forms, in which they joined, were such as the respective congregations were accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with ; and that their practice warrants the imposition of a national precomposed liturgy. To this treatise he has annexed a discourse of the gift of prayer, the intent of which is to shew, that what the dissenters mean by the gift of prayer,

viz. a faculty of conceiving prayers extempore, is not comprised in Scripture. In the same year he published his discourse *On Joint Prayers*, wherein he points out, what is meant by joint prayer, that the joint use of prayers conceived *ex tempore*, hinders devotion, and consequently displeases God; whereas the joint use of such precomposed set forms, as the congregation is accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with, does effectually promote devotion, and consequently is commanded by God; that the lay dissenters are obliged, upon their own principles, to abhor the prayers offered in their separate assemblies, and to join in communion with the Established Church. This treatise was animadverted upon in several places. In 1709 he published in 8vo. his *Paraphrase with annotations, on the Book of Common Prayer*, in which he observes that the using of the morning prayer, the litany, and communion service at one and the same time, in one continued order, is contrary to the first intention and practice of the Church. In 1711 he published his *Rights of the Christian Church*, to prove that Church authority is not derived from the people, and that the laity have no divine right to elect the clergy or choose their own pastors. About this time he took his DD. degree. His next important publication was his "*Directions for studying, 1. A general system of divinity: 2. The thirty-nine articles, to which is added St Jerome's Epistle to Nepotian.*" The same year he published his *Essay on the thirty-nine articles agreed upon in 1562, and revised in 1571*, in which he defended the genuineness of the then controverted clause in the 20th article. About this time he left Colchester and removed to London, where he was chosen lecturer at St Olave's in the Borough, and morning preacher at St Lawrence Jewry. In 1716 he attacked the principles of the nonjurors, in a pamphlet entitled, "*The Nonjurors' Separation from the Public Assemblies of the Church of England, examined and approved to be Schismatical on their own Principles.*" He was soon after pre-

sented to the vicarage of St Giles's, Cripplegate, where he quickly became involved in disputes with his parishioners on the rights of his Church, to which he recovered £150 per annum. In 1718 he engaged in the Trinitarian controversy, in an examination of Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. In 1726 he published a Hebrew grammar. He died of apoplexy on October 9, 1728. On many points Dr Bennet's views were latitudinarian, and in his controversies on the most sacred doctrine of the Holy Trinity, his positions have sometimes the appearance of being heterodox.—*Gen. Dict. Biog. Brit.*

BENNET, BENJAMIN, a presbyterian teacher, was born at Whellesburgh, in Leicestershire, in 1674. After going through his academical exercises he settled as a preacher at the place of his nativity, from whence he removed to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. His works are—1. A Memorial of the Reformation, 8vo, 1721, a very partial and unfair performance. 2. A Defence of the same, 8vo. 3. Discourses on Popery, 8vo. 4. Irenicum, or a Review of some late controversies about the Trinity, 8vo. 5. Sermons on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. 6. Christian Oratory, 8vo. This last work has gone through numerous editions, and is exceedingly popular. He has the ill fame of being chiefly instrumental, by his treatise, entitled Irenicum, alluded to above, in leading the presbyterians of England to the denial of the Saviour, and the rejection of the God of Christians. He died at Newcastle in 1706.—*Gen. Dict. Bogue and Burnet's Hist. of Dissenters.*

BENSON, GEORGE, was born at Great Salkeld in Cumberland, in 1699. He was educated at Whitehaven, and afterwards at Glasgow. About 1721 he was chosen to be the teacher of a congregation at Abingdon, in Berkshire, from whence he removed in 1729 to Southwark, and in 1740 succeeded Dr. Harris, at Crutched Friars. One of the Scotch universities gave him the degree of DD.

the dissenters then been willing to receive titles which formerly they denounced. He was educated a calvinist, but being a learned man, and holding the right of private judgment, he examined the calvinistic system, and found it impossible to reconcile it with Scripture; but when he renounced calvinism he did not look to the Church, but following the blind guide of his private judgment fell into Arianism. His chief works are, A Defence of the Reasonableness of Prayer; An Account of the Burning of Servetus at Geneva, and of the Concern of Calvin in that Act; An Account of Archbishop Laud's Treatment of Dr Leighton; A Dissertation on 2 Thess. ii. 1—12, against the church of Rome; A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle to Philemon, in the manner of Mr. Locke; which was followed by paraphrases and notes, on the same plan, on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, and Titus, and the Catholic Epistles. In 1735 he published a History of the First Planting of Christianity, in two vols, 4to. He wrote also the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion as delivered in the Scriptures; a Collection of Tracts against Persecution; a volume of Sermons; and a History of the Life of Jesus Christ, a posthumous work, published in 1764. He died in 1763. He was respected as a man of learning, but he was pedantic and wrote in an affected style.—*Memoirs prefixed to his Works.*

BENTHAM, THOMAS, was born about the year 1513, at Sherbourne, in Yorkshire, and became a fellow of Magdalene college, Oxford, in 1543. He became eminent in the university as a Hebrew scholar, and his theological studies convinced him that the Church required a reformation. When first he went to the university the reforming party was small, but in spite of the vigilance of the heads of houses, it rapidly gained ground; and when, in the reign of Edward VI. the reformers were in the ascendant, Bentham embraced the cause of the reformation with youthful ardour. It is said that with Henry Bull, of the same college, he once shook the censer out of the hands

of some one officiating in the college chapel, to prevent, as it was said, incense being offered to an idol. When, with the accession of Queen Mary, the Romanizers regained authority in church and state, and, aided by the strong conservative feeling, which had been excited by the excesses of the reforming ministry of Edward VI. they were carrying things with a high hand, Bentham disdained to conceal his sentiments. He refused to be present at the service of the Church, now performed according to the ritual as it existed before the late reign, and he also refused to correct the scholars of his college when they absented themselves from chapel. He therefore became one of the first victims of the visitation undertaken by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in 1553, and was deprived of his fellowship. He then went abroad, residing some time at Zurich and Basle, where he became preacher to the English exiles, expounding to them the acts of the apostles, until he was called to a work of greater danger. Many congregations remained in London during Mary's reign in which the doctrine of the reformation was preached, and there was one chief congregation, the pastor of which acted as superintendent over all the others. And this superintendent Bentham, in the last year of queen Mary's reign, became. They required a fearless man, and the fearlessness of Bentham was such as on one occasion to bring him into danger. When seven martyrs were to be burnt in Smithfield, proclamation was made that none should speak to them, comfort them, or pray for them. Bentham, however, no sooner saw fire put to the pile, than he cried out, "We know that they are God's people; we must, therefore, wish them well, and pray Him to strengthen them. Oh, may God Almighty, for Christ's sake, give them strength." Loud shouts of "Amen" arose immediately on every side, greatly to the confusion and amazement of those who were charged with this cruel execution. The cruelty of the Romanizing party had now done its work, and had caused a re-action in men's minds. If pious men had been disgusted with the selfishness and rapacity

with which the reformers of Edward the sixth's reign had applied to their own aggrandizement, and not the public good, the revenues of which they despoiled the Church, all men were now prepared to think any thing better than the awful severity with which the ministers of Mary sought to repress the reformation and silence their opponents.

In the second year of queen Elizabeth's reign, Bentham was nominated to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, and was consecrated on the 24th of March, 1559. Like others of the bishops preferred in queen Elizabeth's reign, Bentham would have been willing to have carried the reformation further than the Church in convocation, and the queen as head of the state, would permit. The superintending providence of God protected His Church in this land then, as It has often done since, from the rashness of her prelates, who have acted merely as instruments in the hands of God. May such protection ever be vouchsafed to the blessed church of England !

In the year 1565 complaint was made against the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield for not observing the orders of the Church, for the dislike of the ecclesiastical habits, and some other rites. Bishop Bentham was therefore reproved ; and in consequence he appointed, in the beginning of this year, a visitation to be held by Mr Sale (or Saul), some dignitary of that church. And for the better proceeding in this visitation, the bishop wrote, by his own hand, these brief instructions for him to observe :

Imprimis, Whereas I and my diocese are accused of disorders, used of my clergy, these are to will you to charge them all to behave themselves in their ministry, soberly and reverently, in all points of clerkly office, as well within the church as without ; upon pains which may ensue for the transgressing the queen's injunctions.

Item, To charge all and every the clergy to make presentments of those that had not communicated that Easter ; and such as refused their own churches, parsons, vicars, or curates ; and went to other parishes. And in what parishes they were received.

‘ To charge them to make presentments of all children being full seven years of age, and not confirmed.

‘ And to give charge in their parishes, that in Rogation week, none go about, but such as the queen’s injunctions do allow; that is, substantial men of the parish, with the curate.

‘ To learn, whether the register book be had and observed for marriages, christenings, and burials.

‘ All these and such others, as you shall see most meet, for faithful and fruitful service of the ministers; as in appointing taxes and such like order, I will you do not omit.

T. C. L.

The 28th of April, 1565.

He published a sermon on Matt. iv. 1—2. printed at London. Bishop Burnet says, he translated into English the book of Psalms, at the command of queen Elizabeth, when an English version of the Bible was to be made, and that he likewise translated Ezekiel and Daniel. He died at Eccleshall castle, in Staffordshire, the seat belonging to his see, February 19, 1578, aged 65 years.—*Wood. Tanner. Strype’s Annals Memorials. Cranmer. Grindal. Parker.*

BENTHAM, EDWARD, was born at Ely in 1707. He was educated at the school of Christ church, Oxford, from whence, in 1723, he removed as a member of the university to Corpus Christi college, and in 1731 was chosen fellow of Oriel-college. The year following he took his degree of M.A. In 1743 he obtained a prebend in the cathedral of Hereford, of which church he was afterwards treasurer. In 1749 he proceeded to his doctor’s degree, and in 1754 was promoted to the fifth stall in his cathedral. On the death of Dr Fanshaw he was nominated regius professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, and in 1763 was removed to the eighth stall in the church of Hereford. He died in 1776. Besides some single sermons, Dr Bentham published—1. An Introduction to Moral Philosophy, 8vo. 2. A Letter to a young Gentleman on Study; with a Letter to a Fellow of a College, 8vo.

3. Advice to a young man of rank, upon coming to the University. 4. Reflections on Logic, with a vindication of the same, 8vo. 5. Funeral Eulogies upon military men, from the Greek, 8vo. 6. De Studiis Theologicis Prælectio. 7. Reflections upon the Study of Divinity, with heads of a course of Lectures, 8vo. 8. De Vita et Moribus Johannis Burton, S. T. P. 9. An Introduction to Logic, 8vo. 10. De Tumultibus Americanis deque eorum concitatoribus similis meditatio.—*Biog. Brit.*

BENTHAM, JAMES, brother of the preceding, was born at Ely. He studied at Trinity-college, Cambridge, and in 1733 was presented to the vicarage of Stapleford in the same county, which he resigned three years afterwards, on being appointed minor canon of Ely. In 1767 he was presented to the vicarage of Wymondham, in Norfolk, but resigned it the next year for the rectory of Feltwell St Nicholas, which he exchanged in 1774 for the rectory of Northwold, and this again for a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Ely, to which was added in 1783 the rectory of Bow-brick-hill. In 1771 he published "The History and Antiquities of the conventual and cathedral church of Ely," 4to.; to which work he prefixed an introduction, giving an account of Saxon, Norman, and Gothic architecture. This essay by some strange mistake was ascribed to Gray the poet, and it was not till 1783 that Mr Bentham heard of the injustice done him, when he asserted his claim in the Gentleman's Magazine. In 1757 he published proposals for a drainage of the Fens, and by his exertions this plan was carried into effect. On this subject he also printed a tract entitled "Considerations and Reflections upon the present state of the Fens near Ely, 8vo. 1778. He died in 1794, aged 86. A new edition of his history of Ely cathedral was printed at Norwich in 1812.—*Nichols's Anecdotes.*

BENTLEY, RICHARD, was born at Oulton, in the parish of Rothwell, near Leeds, on the 27th of January, 1661—2.

The investigations of the present learned vicar of Rothwell, the Rev John Bell, have not brought to light any anecdotes of the gifted youth or his family in addition to those already recorded by bishop Monk ; nor, though he received his primary education at Methley, has a single copy of his verses been discovered by the accomplished rector of that parish. From the day-school at Methley, Bentley was sent to the grammar school at Wakefield, and at the age of fourteen he entered as subsizar of St John's college, Cambridge.

With the exception, if even that exception be allowed, of Joseph Justus Scaliger, Bentley takes the highest rank among the classical scholars of any age. But his biography belongs rather to the history of scholars than to that of divines. Although, as a theological writer, he holds a distinguished place, yet his general character is not that on which a Christian delights to dwell. It would not therefore be consistent with the character of this work to enter into the details of his literary and academical controversies, and attention will merely be called to his labours as a theologian. They commenced at an early period, though they were at all times regarded as secondary to his literary pursuits, if they were not themselves undertaken rather as an intellectual employment than as a ministerial duty. He was ordained in March, 1689—90, and while yet a deacon he was appointed to deliver the Boyle Lecture, being the first lecturer on that foundation : it is scarcely possible to conceive a greater compliment to the merits of a young man, and throughout life Bentley appears to have considered this distinction as the greatest of the honours with which he was ever invested. The subject of his discourses was a "Confutation of Atheism," and in them the discoveries in Newton's Principia were applied to the confirmation of natural theology. The Principia had been published about six years ; but the sublime discoveries of that work were yet little known, owing, not merely to the obstacles which oppose the reception of novelty, but to the difficulty of comprehending the proofs whereby they are

established. To Bentley belongs, as bishop Monk remarks, the undoubted merit of having been the first to lay open these discoveries in a popular form, and to explain their irresistible force in the proof of a Deity. This constitutes the subject of his seventh and eighth sermons; pieces admirable for the clearness with which the whole question is developed, as well as for the logical precision of their arguments. Among other topics, he shows how contradictory to the principles of philosophy is the notion of matter contained in the Solar System having been once diffused over a chaotic space, and afterwards combined into the large bodies of the sun, planets, and secondaries, by the force of mutual gravitation; and he explains that the planets could never have obtained the transverse motion, which causes them to revolve round the sun in orbits nearly circular, from the agency of any cause except the arm of an almighty Creator. From these and other subjects of physical astronomy, as well as from the discoveries of Boyle, the founder of the lecture, respecting the nature and properties of the atmosphere, a conviction is irresistibly impressed upon the mind of the wisdom and benevolence of the Deity. We are assured that the effect of these discourses was such, that atheism was deserted as untenable ground; or, to use his own expression, the atheists were 'silent since that time, and sheltered themselves under deism.'

It is not to be supposed that the trustees of the lectureship selected so young a man without previous knowledge of his powers. By going so early to Cambridge, Bentley obtained the start of his contemporaries: and not only had his character as a scholar and man of genius been established at Cambridge, but he had made himself well known to the literary characters he was accustomed to meet in bishop Stillingfleet's family, where he resided as tutor to the bishop's son. Bishop Stillingfleet had discovered that if "he had but humility, Bentley would be the most extraordinary man in Europe." Moreover his character was

established at the sister university, for he had attended young Stillingfleet to Oxford, where some remarks which he published on Maletas, in the form of an epistle to Dr Neill, attracted the attention of the scholars of Europe, and were praised for originality of conception, as well as for copious erudition.

By bishop Stillingfleet he was preferred to a stall in Worcester cathedral in the year 1692, and he held afterwards the rectory of Hartlebury, until his pupil, the bishop's son, was old enough to take it. In 1696 he took his degree of D.D. He had been previously appointed royal librarian: and from a misunderstanding between him and the honourable Mr Boyle of Christ-church, Oxford, arose the celebrated Boyle controversy, in which Bentley trampled upon his opponents, and in his Dissertation on Phalaris, produced a work which has never been surpassed in the combination of lively wit, logical acumen, and originality of remark, with profound learning. His claims as a scholar were now universally acknowledged, and in 1699, he was appointed to the mastership of Trinity college, Cambridge. The appointment was made by the commissioners. appointed by William, after the death of Mary, to recommend fit persons to fill all vacancies in ecclesiastical or university preferments in the gift of the crown. As a calvinist and dissenter the king felt his incompetency to interfere in such appointments, and the prerogative of the crown had not yet been usurped by the chief servant of the sovereign. In 1701 Bentley married, and was in the same year made archdeacon of Ely.

Into an account of the controversies in which he was now involved, and in which he was almost always in the wrong, it is not, for reasons before assigned, our intention to enter: we need merely say that he exhibited throughout a sad deficiency in the temper of a Christian, and even of a gentleman, and it is impossible not to regret the misapplication of those immense powers of mind, which enabled him for twenty eight years to defy all ecclesiastical

authority and the censures of the university, and against all right and law to hold his post as master of Trinity college.

Such, however, was the energy of his mind, that notwithstanding the incessant litigation in which he was involved, his labours as a scholar were continued without interruption. In 1711 he published his edition of Horace, on which he had been employed ten years, and which, with all its faults, and many of them highly characteristic of the man, was worthy of his former fame.

But it was in 1713 that he had an opportunity of employing his learning for the most legitimate of all purposes, by his answer to Collins on Free-Thinking. Anthony Collins, we are told by bishop Monk, was a gentleman of education and fortune, who in early life enjoyed the friendship of Locke, and had for some years devoted himself to the dissemination of these principles of infidelity, to which the theory of Locke legitimately leads. Being respectable in his private life, popular and agreeable in his manners, and possessing an extensive acquaintance, he acquired influence in society; and so great was his zeal in the cause, that he seems to have proposed to himself the character of an apostle of irreligion. At the beginning of 1713 he published, without his name, a book styled 'A Discourse of Free-Thinking, occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.' It is but too certain that deism had been making considerable advance in England since the Revolution, and that its progress had been aided by the insidious writings of Shaftesbury, Toland, Tindal, and other enemies of revealed religion. But the assumption of a 'growing sect' seems to have been an artifice designed to imply an uniformity of opinions, which did not really exist, among the impugnors of Christianity. Or if the 'sect' had any thing like 'a local habitation and a name,' it was a small knot of persons whose ordinary place of rendezvous was the Grecian coffee-house near Temple Bar; and of them Mr Collins was himself the centre. His present work,

whether we regard its literary merit, its power of argument, or the profoundness of its views, appears totally unworthy of the attention which it excited: the learning is superficial, the reasoning unsound, and the information upon general topics loose and inaccurate; while his 'sapless pages' (as Bentley well denominates them) are destitute of those indispensable requisites, honesty, and candour, for the absence of which no merits can atone. Nevertheless, this publication, intrinsically so worthless, occasioned great sensation: it appeared as the manifesto of a party; it assumed the concurrence of almost all great men of every age and country in similar tenets of 'free-thinking;' and it attacked the clergy of the church of England with especial severity. The authoritative and self-sufficient tone in which its positions are laid down, and its perpetual appeals to ancient literature, were well calculated to entrap the careless and half-learned, who at all times constitute a large proportion of the reading public.

Many replies were published, but Phileleutherus Lepsius had the merit of demolishing the infidel fabric:

Nothing, observes Dr Monk, can be more judicious or effectual than the manner in which Bentley takes to pieces the shallow but dangerous performance of the infidel. Not satisfied with replying to particular arguments, he cuts the ground from under his feet, by exposing the fallacious mode of reasoning which pervades them all, and the contemptible sophism which represents all good and great men of every age and country to have been 'free-thinkers,' and consequently partizans of his own sect. But the happiest of the remarks are those which display the mistakes and ignorance of Collins in his citations from classical writers. By a kind of fatality, his translations are perpetually inaccurate, and his conception of the originals erroneous: and though most of his blunders are the effects of ignorance, yet not a few seem to arise from a deliberate intention of deceiving his readers. Never was the advantage more conspicuous of a ripe and perfect scholar over a half-learned smatterer: while the latter searches book after

book in pursuit of passages favourable to his own theory, the former, familiar with the writings and characters of the authors, and accurately versed in their language, is able to take to pieces the ill-sorted patchwork of irrelevant quotations. These parts of Bentley's work are not only effectual in demolishing his adversary, but are both entertaining and useful to the reader ; and to them it is owing that the book has experienced a fate so different from that of other controversial writings : even the ablest and best-written of such pieces generally fall into oblivion along with the dispute which gave them birth ; but the 'Remarks of Phileleutherus' are still read with the same delight as at their first appearance. The fact of their having passed through a multitude of editions at considerable intervals of time marks a continuance of interest among the educated public, only to be accounted for by the intrinsic value of the work.

For this work Bentley received the thanks of the university. In 1716 he designed a new edition of the Greek Testament, and had communications with Wetstein upon the subject : but although, having collected materials, and caused several manuscripts to be collated, he raised a considerable subscription in 1720 to enable him to complete the work ; the plan was never carried into effect, and every sincere Christian must rejoice that the bold irreverent spirit of Dr Bentley was providentially diverted from a work in which he might have done incalculable mischief.

His labours seem not to have injured his health, nor his controversies to have interfered with the regularity of his life. In 1726 he published his edition of Terence, by which his character as a scholar was still maintained ; but he exposed himself to much ridicule by undertaking, at the suggestion of queen Caroline, an edition of Milton, for which he was perfectly unqualified, and which was received when published, in 1731, with universal disapprobation.

He was employed in preparing an edition of Homer, when a paralytic stroke, in the year 1739, put an end to his labours. In the early part of 1740 he lost his wife, and he himself died of pleuritic fever on the 14th of July, 1742.—*Bishop Monk's Life of Bentley.*

BERENGARIUS, or BERENGER, was born at Tours about the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. He was educated under Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, and remained in that city till the death of that prelate. On the death of Fulbert, returning to Tours, he was appointed lecturer in the public schools attached to St Martin's church, of which church he afterwards became chamberlain, and then treasurer. His reason for leaving Tours and going to Angers is not known, but he was there appointed archdeacon by the bishop, who goes under the two names of Eusebius and Bruno. At Angers, as well as at Tours, the disciples and followers of Berengarius were many in number.

Berengarius was born at the period when the doctrine of transubstantiation was daily becoming more and more prevalent in the Western church, and that peculiar notion respecting the change of substance in the consecrated elements of the holy Eucharist, he refused to admit. That doctrine had been moulded into definite form, from the Catholic doctrine of the real Presence, by Paschasius Radbert, monk, and afterwards abbot of Corbie, who died in 865. The novelty gradually grew into repute, though strongly protested against by several able writers, such as Ratramnus and Rabanus Maurus: it seemed to harmonize with the general spirit and tone which theology was tending to assume. But in Berengarius the new doctrine found an opponent, though, from the prevalence of the opposite opinion, his more orthodox views could only be promulged at considerable risk. Of the controversies in which he was involved we have an account in Labbe and Cossart's Councils, in Cave, in Mosheim, and in Dupin;

but the writer of this article has never seen the history of these important events so fairly and yet briefly narrated as in Bowden's life of Gregory VII; and the reader will be indebted for the facts of the following narrative to Mr Bowden, a true son of the Church, whose bright example of christian excellence will be referred to with admiration by all who knew him, while many more than those who knew him personally have lamented his early death.

It was in the pontificate of Leo IX. in 1050, that the troubles of Berengarius began. He had written to Lanfranc, at that time master of the monastic school at Bec, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury, who had adopted a different view of the question, and had concluded his letter, still extant, by asserting, that if he considered Johannes Scotus a heretic for being opposed to the new doctrine, now called transubstantiation, he must give the same character to St Ambrose, St Jerome, St Augustine, and others. Lanfranc was at Rome when the letter was sent to him in Normandy: it was read, however, by some of the clergy, commissioned probably to open his letters during his absence, and by them forwarded with indignant remarks to Rome. It was written in a friendly spirit, and on that account it was insinuated that Lanfranc must himself be inclined to the opinions of Berengarius. This will account for Lanfranc's laying the letter before a synod then assembled at Rome, where he disavowed all participation in the opinions of Berengarius, and Berengarius himself absent and unheard was censured. And this sentence was shortly confirmed by a council held, under the same pontiff, at Vercelli. At this latter meeting, Berengarius was summoned to appear and defend himself; and he declares,—in his book “*de Sacra Cœnâ*,” fol. 16—that he was willing to have complied with the summons; but that the king of France,—who was, officially, the abbot of the church to which he belonged, and whose leave it was incumbent on him to procure for the journey,—prevented and confined him. He presented himself, however, before Hildebrand, when the latter held, as papal legate, a coun-

cil at Tours, in 1054. And in him he found, according to his own account, a most favourable judge. Hildebrand listened to his arguments with mildness and attention, and himself so far supported those arguments, as to bring to the council the works of many authors, and to refer the prelates who sat with him to various passages, explaining and confirming the tenets of the accused. The legate indeed expressed a wish that Berengarius should present himself before pope Leo in person; that by his authority the clamours against him might be definitely quelled; and the prelates of the council expressed themselves satisfied when the archdeacon of Angers made before them, verbally and in writing, the declaration—which he says he most heartily did—“that the bread and wine of the altar are truly after consecration the Body and Blood of Christ.”

Confiding in his powerful friend, Berengarius,—when summoned to Rome in 1059, during the pontificate of Nicholas II—hesitated not to present himself before the papal throne. But the result of this step must have sorely disappointed him. Headed by the cardinal bishop Humbert, the party of his opponents was predominant in the Lateran. Hildebrand was unable efficiently to protect him; the pope was cold and unfriendly. Awed by the tumultuous clamours around him, and at the same time appalled by the fear of instant death, Berengarius felt his firmness forsake him; and renouncing the opinion which he had till then maintained, he adopted, as his own, the following confession:—

“I, Berengarius . . . anathematize every heresy, and more particularly that of which I have hitherto been accused . . . I agree with the holy Roman Church . . . that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar, are, after consecration, not only a sacrament, but even the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that these are sensibly, and not merely sacramentally, but in truth, handled and broken by the hands of the priest, and ground by the teeth of the faithful. And this I swear by the holy and consubstantial Trinity, and by these holy gospels of

Christ." Berengarius was then allowed to return to France, where, freed from the urgent terrors which had overpowered him, he soon showed, by returning to the inculcation of his former doctrines, the insincerity of his compulsory recantation. He continued, however, some years unmolested. Alexander II, whether guided by the dictates of his own mild disposition, or by the influence of his great minister and adviser, forbore from all attempts to move him by public censures, or by any other mode than that of friendly expostulation. And Gregory VII. we may imagine, would willingly have allowed the supposed heretic to continue in tranquillity. But as the storms of his pontificate rolled more loudly, as party spirit was kindled and aroused throughout the Western church to daily increasing exacerbation, this subject, among others, was taken up with clamour; and his opponents, by whom Gregory's views on the subject were more than suspected, saw, it is probable, in an attack on Berengarius, a likely mode of assailing and annoying the pontiff himself. The influence of the latter over his conclave, grew feeble, his enemies, even in his own councils, threatened to overpower him,—and Gregory was at length compelled so far to yield to their demands, as to summon Berengarius to appear and defend himself before the council of November 1078. But, upon its assembling, he acted the part of a friend to the accused. Berengarius, with his concurrence, in lieu of repeating the declaration made by him in 1059, made the following, couched in more general and less stringent terms. "I acknowledge that the bread of the altar, after consecration, is the true Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered on the cross, and which sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and that the wine of the altar, after it is consecrated, is the true Blood which flowed from the side of Christ; and what I pronounce with my mouth, that I declare I hold in my heart, so help me God and these holy Gospels."

And this confession was no sooner made than Gregory

declared that it was enough for the Faith, and enough for those who must be fed with milk and not with strong meat; as St Augustine had said, ‘What ye see on the altar is bread and wine, as your eyes inform you; but, according to that which faith demands of you, the bread is the Body of Christ, and the wine His Blood.’ He proclaimed aloud that Berengarius was no heretic; that the universally revered Peter Damiani had, in his hearing, spoken of the sacrifice of the Eucharist in terms opposed to those insisted on by Lanfranc and his party; and that Lanfranc’s authority was not to be set against that of an actual son of the church of Rome, who, while not inferior to Lanfranc in depth of learning, far excelled him as to the zeal with which he studied the divine word, according to the Lord’s own command, ‘Search the Scriptures.’ And thus, in appearance, were appeased the clamours of the archdeacon’s impugners. Dissatisfaction, however, had been excited by what were considered the ambiguous terms of the new confession. Benno, Gregory’s inveterate enemy, who was able to influence a powerful party in the college of cardinals, was urgent in calling for a statement more specific. And it was insisted on, that Berengarius should be detained in Rome, till the more solemn council of the following Lent should definitely decide upon his case. With this demand Gregory was either unable, or afraid, to refuse compliance, and Berengarius remained, during the winter, in the papal city. But, as Lent approached, the pontiff anxiously endeavoured to discover some means by which the necessity of calling upon him to remodel his confession might be avoided. He first resolved to call upon him to confirm, by oath, the confession which he had already made, and to submit to the ordeal of hot iron in proof of his truth. With this proposal the accused expressed himself ready to comply; but, while he was preparing himself for the trial by fasting and prayer, Gregory announced a change of purpose. Sending for Berengarius, he, in the presence of the bishop of Porto, thus addressed him:—

‘I doubt not thou thinkest rightly enough, and in accordance with the Scriptures, respecting the sacrifice of Christ; but as I am accustomed, on doubtful occasions, to appeal to the aid of the blessed Mary, I some days back directed a certain monk, who is my friend, to implore, with prayer and fasting, that she would show me with certainty to which side of this controversy I should incline; to the end that I might henceforth remain fixed in my opinion. He fulfilled my request, and brought me, after a certain time, the blessed Virgin's answer. It was to the effect that we need believe nothing respecting the Sacrifice of Christ, but that which the Scriptures teach us; and that Berengarius teaches nothing in opposition to them.’

And yet,—notwithstanding these demonstrations of favour and intended support,—the pontiff was prevailed upon, or compelled, to command the appearance of Berengarius, within a few days of this conference with him, before the council of Lent, 1079, and to permit his opponents to tender for his adoption, a confession in the following re-modelled form:—

‘I believe with my heart, and confess with my mouth, that the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar, through the mystery of holy prayer, and through the words of our Redeemer, are substantially converted into the true, proper, and life-giving Body and Blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, so as, after consecration, to be the true body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, which, as an offering for the salvation of the world, hung upon the cross, which sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and the true blood of Christ which flowed from His side; and this not only by the sign and virtue of a sacrament, but in properness of nature and truth of substance.’

Berengarius, in the exigency in which he was placed, did not hesitate to pledge himself to this document, or even, in compliance with the clamours of his accusers, to swear that he adopted the words in the sense which they put upon them, and not according to any secret meaning

of his own. And as he thus disarmed them from taking any further measures against him, Gregory lost no time in sending him to his home, publicly forbidding him to teach any longer the obnoxious doctrine which he had disavowed; but at the same time directing a faithful friend to accompany and protect him on his way; and furnishing him with a commendatory letter, in which he denounced the censures of the Church against all who should presume to do to Berengarius, a son of the Roman Church, any injury, or to stigmatize him as a heretic. Thus freed from his difficulties, Berengarius,—as might have been expected,—avowed, upon his return, his original opinions; and ascribed his formal disavowal of them to the fear of instant death. But Gregory, however urged on the point by the archdeacon's enemies, firmly refused,—and to the end of his life persevered in the refusal,—to take any further measures against him.

The reader will probably be surprised to find Hildebrand, (Gregory VII,) taking the protestant side, when the novel doctrine of transubstantiation was introduced into the Church.

Berengarius continued during the remainder of his life unmolested by his opponents; and died in peace at an advanced age, on the 6th of January, 1088, in his place of retirement, the island of St Come, near Tours. Such was his religious and moral excellence, that he died in the odour of sanctity, the canons of Tours being accustomed for ages to perform religious services annually over his tomb, and his name being inserted in the menology of the cathedral of Angers. This, to Romish writers has been perplexing: they know that at the present time no one could die in the odour of sanctity, according to the tenets of Romanism, who should deny the doctrine of transubstantiation; and they are surprised to find the contrary the fact, in the eleventh century. If they refer to history their perplexities will cease: although Berengarius held an unpopular doctrine, yet impartial men knew that his was the ancient doctrine, and even if they differed from

him in opinion, they did not deem this difference a ground for his condemnation. So thought Gregory VII, and we may be sure that the pope was not singular in his ideas upon the subject. Berengarius admitted the real Presence, which is necessary to render the holy rite a Sacrament in the strict sense of the term ; but he would not admit that substantial change in the elements upon which modern Romanists insist, in order that the Sacramental elements may become legitimate objects of adoration.—*Cave. Dupin. Mosheim. Bowden.*

BERKELEY, GEORGE. This great and good man, a saint of the Anglican Church, whose name is connected with the memorable line of Pope :

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven ;

was born on the 12th of March, 1684, at Kelchoin, near Thomas-town, in the county of Kilkenny, and from Kilkenny school, where he received the first part of his education, he removed at fifteen years of age to Trinity college, Dublin, of which college he became a fellow in 1707. In that year he published his first work, which had been written before he was twenty years of age, *Arithmetica absque Algebra aut Euclide demonstrata*.

The Essay towards the new Theory of Vision, was published in 1709. The author was then in his twenty-fifth year. Reid, who has endeavoured, throughout his Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind, to depreciate the labours of Berkeley in the same field, admits that "The Theory of Vision contains very important discoveries and marks of great genius." The work indeed contains two discoveries of very considerable importance, the one limited to the science of optics, the other of much more general application. First, Berkeley has clearly and very simply shewn that the eye is incapable of conveying to the mind the idea of distance, as measured from the spectator, by observing that such distance must be represented by a

line placed with its end towards the eye, which would of course present to the eye a point only. Our notion of optical distance is in fact acquired by a continual series of experiments of the touch, and of the bodily motion required to bring ourselves in contact with an object, the presence of which only, but not its distance, is intimated to us by certain impressions on the eye. An infant may be observed making those experiments, and stretching out its hand several times short of the object whose presence has been announced by the eye, before the distance is accurately ascertained. Persons who lose the sight of one eye are found also to require fresh experimental tuition in the measuring of distances; and persons born blind from cataract, on being couched at mature years, have stated that the objects *touched* their eyes. The treatise contains many minor discoveries, also of considerable interest, with reference to the science of optics, which flow naturally as corollaries from the above; and in particular the author suggests that "What we see are not solids, nor yet planes variously coloured, they are only diversity of colours." In truth, if there were no colour there would be no visible figure, as may easily be seen if one were to attempt to delineate a circle or any other figure on a coloured surface with a brush dipped in precisely the same colour: whilst the colour is wet it will be in fact a different colour, and will therefore shew the circle, but when it becomes dry no figure will be visible for want of a difference of colour; so if there were nothing but white uncoloured light in nature, and it were capable of passing freely through all bodies assuming no shade, (*i. e.* no contrast of colour) there would be no visible figure.

The second of the discoveries we have referred to is this, that tangible figure is wholly distinct from visible figure; in other words, that the table we see is not that which we touch. The table we see, if it be circular, will appear in most positions an oval to the eye, it will be smaller as we retire from it, and larger as we approach it, and will be

continually shifting its form as we alter our position, as every person acquainted with drawing must be well aware. These changes do not occur in the tangible table. Simple as this remark appears, yet as Reid has observed, (in reference to this discovery) "the notion of extension and figure which we get from sight only, and that which we get from touch, have been so constantly conjoined from our infancy that it required great abilities to distinguish them accurately, and to assign to each sense what truly belongs to it." This point, says Reid again, "Berkeley has laboured through the whole of the *Essay on Vision* with that uncommon penetration and judgment which he possessed. The experiment has in fact since been repeatedly made in the cases of persons operated on for cataract to which they had been subject from birth. They have been unable to distinguish a dog, for instance, from a cat by sight till after repeated trial, handling each animal first, and then looking at it, as a child learns to refer the letters, when spelling, to the pictures of the animals in his spelling-book. The visible object is a translation of the tangible into another language—and vice versâ."

We have said that this second discovery admits of very general application. It must have originally required much mental effort thus to sever ideas associated with each other from the earliest period of our existence, and there can be little doubt that Berkeley was thus led to his more extended speculations on what has been usually termed the existence of matter. In fact his great work, entitled "*The Principles of Human Knowledge*," was published in 1710, the year after the *New Theory of Vision*, and this was followed in 1713, by "*Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*," in which the same views are enforced, but in the more popular form of dialogues, written, too, in a style to which nothing can be found comparable except that of Plato.

No work has been so much misunderstood, or misrepresented, as "*The Principles of Human Knowledge*." Berkeley was led by the brilliant results of his analysis of

the mental operations, relative to visible and tangible figure, to apply his genius to a searching investigation of the received notions as to material substance. It is now admitted by all that these notions were in Berkeley's time most unsatisfactory. We cannot here discuss the various opinions of the ancient heathen philosophers on this confessedly difficult subject, but they appear to have agreed in regarding matter as co-eternal with, and therefore independent of, the Deity; and the piety of Berkeley contributed not a little to stimulate him in those researches, which terminated (as it appeared to him) in a demonstration, that the very existence of matter independently of the Divine mind, cannot even be conceived. The system of the heathen philosophers was not, as far as regards the eternity of matter, adopted by Christians; but various unsatisfactory explanations were resorted to for the purpose of reconciling the dogmas of Aristotle with the accounts of the creation, which it has pleased God Himself to reveal to us. Des Cartes is entitled to the merit of venturing among the first to question these dogmas or heathen traditions, as to the origin and nature of the inanimate world; and his writings, together with those of other metaphysicians down to and including Locke and Malebranche, contributed no doubt to clear the way to those principles which were regarded by Berkeley as the foundation of our knowledge. But the difficulty was great with regard to the nature of what has been called matter. The term itself is derived from the old heathen philosophy, which treated of it as the necessary eternal *material* from which the Deity formed the world, it being with them a maxim that "nothing can be made of nothing;" for they never rose to the conception of an all powerful mind which can originate, or to the distinction between creating and making. They imagined that the operations of creation required a substance to work on, as a human artist, in making a watch, for instance, must be furnished with the brass and steel of which it is formed. Now, whilst reasoning upon a different basis, and admitting the creation of matter by

God, the modern philosophers had great difficulty in describing of what it consists. For, according to their view, there was still a necessity for the substratum or groundwork of all existing things perceived by the senses; but as this matter must be common to every thing, it became difficult to define what common thing there is in gold, lead, stone, animal and vegetable frames, solids, liquids, air, &c. And after much thought Locke was brought to admit that extension, solidity, figure, and motion, were the only qualities he could assign as essential to, and inseparable from, matter; whilst he conceived colour, sound, taste, smell, heat, and cold, to be due to powers in given bodies to excite those sensations in our minds. Now to Berkeley this system appeared so vague that he was led to analyze more clearly what it is which produces the impression of the so-called matter in our minds, and whether there be really any such common material substance as was supposed. Take, for instance, a bell into your hands and ring it, what more do you know about it than this—your eyes are impressed with one class of sensations, your hands (with which you may feel the hardness and form of the bell) with another, your ears with another, and to all this combination of sensations you give the name of a bell. But do you know the ultimate cause of any one class of these sensations, namely, the colour, or sound, any more than the ultimate cause of the hardness and form which you feel with your hands? Is it then a sound distinction to say that solidity (or hardness) and figure are essential qualities, resembling something in the body itself, whilst the colour and sound are merely secondary qualities arising from a power in the bell to excite them? or rather, in fact, are not the solidity and figure just as much the objects of sensation as the colour and sound, being perceived by the fingers and touch, instead of by the eyes and ears. If you were to see a painted bell your eyes would immediately inform you of one class of sensations, which, by former experience of your hands and ears,

you have associated with the thing called a bell ; if a bell without a clapper be presented to you, you bring another class of sensations into play by touching it ; if the clapper be added, another class of sensations is produced on ringing it, and the bell is complete : but after all you have nothing more than a series of sensations, nor, try as you will, can you form any conception of matter which does not necessarily involve on the one hand as its definition, that it is either seen, heard, tasted, smelt, or felt, or which admits on the other hand of any test of its existence except by means of one of those senses at least. Berkeley was thus led to conclude that what has been termed matter in reality means nothing more than the fact of our consciousness of divers bundles of sensations ; for, take away the hardness which you feel, the weight which presses on your hand, the colour, the sound of the bell, and what remains of the fancied substratum of all these ? If this be so, it follows that the so-called material objects are brought by analysis to a consciousness of certain sensations. It follows that if there be no existing being capable of consciousness, there is no possibility of conceiving the existence of matter ; which depends therefore for its very existence on mind, instead, as the heathens supposed, being the necessary substratum for mind to work on. But now let us revert to the instance of the bell ; we find that the visible image impresses itself necessarily on our eyes if we open them—the tangible on our fingers if we stretch them out in a given direction, namely, to the place where the bell is. These sensations are wholly independent of our own will, quite different from the recollections which we can bring up in our minds, or from any other original act of our own : they are something therefore different from ourselves. The act of seeing, &c., therefore gives us both the sensation and also a knowledge of the existence of a cause of it, independent of our own minds. Here it is that Berkeley has been so much misunderstood and misrepresented. He has never questioned the existence of a cause of our sensations indepen-

dent of ourselves ; but he has said the existence of what is called matter is the existence of sensations, and the existence of sensations implies the existence of a sentient being, and that some such being must exist, or what has been called matter cannot exist. He infers the existence of other minds by shewing that many sensations occur which we are conscious we did not originate, and cannot terminate ; some of these are such as we would by due instruction originate, and we infer, therefore, that they have been originated by beings like ourselves. Thus if we see a watch made by the watchmaker, or to use our former instance, a bell, and find we could by being taught make a watch or a bell ourselves, we infer the existence of a mind similar to our own, which has originated the peculiar combination of sensations before us, and which we call by the names of watch and bell ; but if we analyze the component sensations into a simpler form, and consider the sensations produced by the brass and steel, and the sensations of their weight, hardness, and the like, which we cannot originate, or conceive a being like ourselves to have originated, we are led to infer the existence of a creative Being, who originates that particular class of sensations, and in whose mind they may exist even if all created minds were destroyed. This Being, and not a mysterious undefined substratum, then, is, according to Berkeley, the cause of all the varied combinations of sensations to which we give names ; and He, *i. e.* God, has willed that such sensations should come in associated groups : *e. g.* that the bright sensation we call light should usually be attended with the burning sensation of heat ; it is not always so, for the glow worm, and fire fly, do not burn, though a child would probably expect them to do so. God might doubtless, if he pleased, at once cause water to burn, and fire to occasion the sensation of cold. Every thing called matter (as we perceive it) is, in other words, a group of sensations, ordered according to a given law, which law we did not originate, and cannot vary. It is independent of, rather than external to, the mind ; for it

is gross materialism to speak literally of the inside or outside of the mind, for mind is not extended, and has no parts, like a cup or vessel : so that in talking of things being external to the mind, all philosophers (except materialists) must be assumed to speak metaphorically.

We shall now perceive how much Berkeley has been misrepresented by those who have pretended to refute him ; and as Reid is supposed by many to have succeeded in such refutation, it will be sufficient to expose briefly his mis-statement of the case. In one passage of his *Essay* Reid states, correctly enough, that “Berkeley acknowledges that material things have a real existence out of the mind of this or that person, but that the question between him and the materialist is, whether they have an absolute existence distinct from their being perceived by God ?” This is fairly stated, yet the same opponent afterwards states the question thus, “How are we astonished when the philosopher informs us that the sun and moon which we see are not, as we imagine, many miles distant from us and from each other, but that they are in our own mind ; that they had no existence before we saw them, and will have none when we cease to perceive and to think of them, because the objects we perceive are only ideas in our own minds, which can have no existence a moment longer than we think of them.” He then proceeds to refute this last absurd supposition, which it is needless to say is merely fighting with a shadow of his own creation. The first extract alone contains Berkeley’s view, and the result of his whole system is this,—That God, by an act of His will, causes our minds to have certain sensations in uniform order, and uniformly associated. How and in what form the Divine mind may be conscious itself of sensations he, of course, presumes not to say ; but to all men’s minds these sensations occur alike, whether men desire them or not, independently therefore of any one man’s mind, or of his thinking of them.

Some very remarkable consequences are deducible

from Berkeley's views. His main object, indeed, was to vindicate God's existence thereby, and he has beautifully expanded this branch of the subject in his *Minute Philosopher*. As one illustration we may mention his conclusive argument against any difficulty arising from God Himself not being the object of our senses—for neither are men such. Man makes himself known to us indeed by voice, gesture, &c., through the medium therefore of our senses; but who could say that any one of our senses really perceives the sentient being constituting the man. That invisible being does acts independent of and similar to our own, and is therefore a real active being like ourselves, but this is an inference only, though a sure one. The same remark applies to God, His acts are perceivable every where by such sensations as neither we nor any one else like ourselves can originate, therefore, the acts are originated by a Being above us, and all other beings like us.

It was noticed by Arthur Collier, who, in 1713, published a work called *Clavis Universalis*, and adopted the views of Berkeley, though it is not clear that he had seen his work, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is effectually disposed of by this theory; for if the notion of a substratum be removed, then, where all the sensations are the same, the thing or object must be the same.

The resolving also of cause and effect into a constant sequence of certain sensations in given order, which was afterwards dilated upon by Brown, is clearly stated by Berkeley, whom Brown in the notes to his work abuses, without acknowledging his obligations to him.

The view of Berkeley differed from that of Malebranche materially, for the latter conceived that we saw all things by our own mind's being united with the Deity, which doctrine followed up would seem to lead to Pantheism, and to destroy man's independent existence.

But, from the speculation of Berkeley, we must now pass on to the consideration of the facts connected with his life. He took his doctor's degree in 1721, and the

year following he was made by Mrs Vanhomrich, Swift's Vanessa, one of her executors, by which circumstance he obtained a legacy of £4000. In 1724 he was advanced to the deanery of Derry.

He might now, with the majority of his contemporaries, have sought only his own ease and comfort. But his mind had been employed on the truly Christian project of converting "the savage Americans to Christianity by a college to be erected on the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda." It is easy to devise plans of benevolence, to support their cause by eloquent speeches and the plaudits of admiring friends, and by an annual subscription of which the loss is scarcely felt. But dean Berkeley was in earnest in the scheme that he proposed, and immediately offered to resign his comfortable deanery, the delights of literary society, and his large income, that he might dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of youth in America, reserving to himself only £100 a-year. To the honour of the age it must be mentioned, that three fellows of Trinity college, Dublin, were found ready to follow his example, and to give up their fellowships, and all those high prospects at home, to which a Dublin fellowship was at that time supposed to lead. They went with him, having a salary of £40 a-year. The plan being sanctioned by George the First and his ministers, a grant of £20,000 was made for the establishment of the college, and, in 1728, our noble-minded missionary sailed for America. In America he remained for two years and a half at Newport, in Rhode Island, winning the love and respect of all who approached him. He rallied around him the few Catholic clergy who were then in America, who held a kind of quarterly synod at his house, and he was busily employed in preaching the gospel, and in administering the sacraments in various destitute places, while to the church at Newport he presented an organ for the more decent celebration of the divine offices. But notwithstanding his exertions, every attempt to realize the object which took him across the Atlantic failed. The

money which had been voted to him had been appropriated by government in another way ; and when bishop Gibson applied to sir Robert Walpole upon the subject, the reply of the minister was, " If you put this question to me as minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits the public convenience ; but if you ask me as a friend whether dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations." Mortifying as this circumstance was, Dr Berkeley had nothing else to do than to follow the advice of bishop Gibson, his diocesan, and to submit. With his usual generosity, he gave his house and a hundred acres of cultivated land around it to Yale and Haward colleges, and he gave books to the value of £500 to those institutions and the clergy of Rhode Island ; and quitted America in September, 1731.

On his return home he published that masterly performance, the *Minute Philosopher*, in which he pursues the free-thinker through the various characters of atheist, libertine, enthusiast, scorner, critic, metaphysician, fatalist, sceptic ; and employs against him, with peculiar dexterity, several new weapons drawn from the storehouse of his own ingenious system of philosophy. It is written in a series of dialogues on the model of Plato, and it seemed to the late bishop Jebb to be so well adapted to the present age, that this admirable prelate designed a re-publication of it with notes of his own, had he not been summoned to his rest before he could accomplish this and other useful works, which he contemplated for the benefit of the Church.

Dr Berkeley was at this time a frequent guest at those hebdomadal parties which Caroline, the queen of George II, was accustomed to give to persons of established intellectual celebrity. Here he had the honour of being supported by Sherlock, and perhaps the greater honour of being opposed by Hoadly and Clarke.

In May, 1733, he was consecrated bishop of Cloyne. In 1745 he had the offer of the more valuable bishopric of Clogher, but refused to leave his diocese, where he constantly resided, and to the duties of which he paid unremitting attention. In like manner when he might have obtained the primacy he declined it, saying, "I desire to add one more to the list of churchmen who are dead to avarice and ambition."

Soon after his consecration he published the *Analyst*, in which he argues that mathematical knowledge makes far larger demands than Christianity, upon the implicit acquiescence of mankind.

Towards the close of life his health failed him, and finding relief from tar water, he published his *Siris*; a wonderful instance of the fertility of his genius, and at the same time of the weakness of the strongest minds. It was written to establish the virtues of tar water as a medicine, and the effects ascribed to it are such as quack advertisers of all times attribute to their medicines. They, however, wilfully deceive; Berkeley was induced to generalize hastily on a subject on which he had but very partial knowledge, by a wish to impart to others the benefits he conceived he had derived from the medicine. But his fruitful mind could not be stirred on any subject in vain; the weeds indicated the fertility of the soil, and the *Essay on Tar Water* concludes with some of the most soul ennobling disquisitions on high and abstruse points of philosophy and divinity. It is divided into ten sections, the first of which is "Tar Water how made." The fourth to the seventh represent it as "A cure for foulness of blood, ulceration of bowels, lungs, consumptive coughs, pleurisy, peripneumony, erysipelas, asthma, indigestion, cachectic and hysteric cases, gravel, dropsy, and all inflammations." And the last sections are "The Study of Plato recommended, who agrees with Scripture in many particulars. His opinion of the Deity, and particularly of a Trinity, agreeable to Revelation."

He now longed to retire from public life, and while preparing for the great change awaiting him, to give himself up to meditation. He wished to make Oxford his residence, that he might at the same time superintend the education of his son. He asked, therefore, to exchange his bishopric for a canonry of Christ-church. It is a sad infliction upon the English church that no provision is made for the retirement of bishops when they become too infirm for their work. Bishop Berkeley was not allowed to resign; but having obtained permission to reside where he pleased, he made a series of liberal arrangements at Cloyne, and then went to die at Oxford. He settled there in July, 1752, and died in January, 1753. He was placidly listening while his wife was reading the burial service, when he fell asleep in Jesus. So peaceful was the passage of his soul to the Church triumphant, that his death was not discovered by those around him, until he had become stiff and cold. Of him bishop Atterbury said, "So much understanding, knowledge, innocence, and humility, I should have thought confined to angels, had I never seen this gentleman."

The facts are taken chiefly from the life of Berkeley prefixed to his works, and from the works themselves.

BERNARD, of Clairvaux, commonly called St Bernard, has been styled the last of the fathers, because he stands, as it were, on the confines of the system of the early Church, which contemplated God as He is in Himself, and that of the later ages, in which the mysterious dealings of God with the soul of the individual Christian were minutely analyzed. He wrote from Scripture and the fathers, and came not into that form of theology called scholastic, which, commencing in his time, became afterwards generally prevalent. He was born of a noble family, at Fontaines, near Dijon, in Burgundy, in the year 1091. His early education devolved on his pious mother, Aletta, his father, Tecelin, being too much engaged in deeds of arms to attend to the claims of his

family. Dedicated by his mother to the service of the Church, from the time of his birth, he received the education necessary for holy orders at Chatillon; but he lost the mother who had hitherto watched and prayed for him when he arrived at the age of fifteen. We have an account of Aletta's death from a contemporary author, and as characteristic of the times it is here presented to the reader:—

“Aletta was accustomed to celebrate the festival of St Ambrose, the patron of the church of Fontaines, by an annual feast, to which the neighbouring clergy were invited. On the vigil of that day, she was seized with a violent fever which confined her to her bed.” (It appears that she had had a presentiment of her approaching death, which she had communicated to her husband and family.) “The next morning, she requested that the Holy Communion might be administered to her, and feeling strengthened after its reception, she desired that the clergy would sit down to the feast she had provided. While they were at table, she sent for her eldest son Guido, and desired that he would request the company to repair to her chamber, when the repast was ended. When they were assembled, and standing round her bed, Aletta calmly announced that the moment of her departure was at hand, and entreated their prayers. The ministers of the Lord began to read the litany, Aletta herself making the responses, as long as her breath lasted; but when the choir reached that versicle, “By thy cross and passion, good Lord deliver us,” the dying woman, commending her soul to God, raised her hand to make the sign of the cross, and in that attitude she expired; giving up her spirit to the angels, by whom it was carried to the abode of the just. There it awaits in peace the re-union with the body at the great day of the resurrection, when our Lord and Advocate, Jesus Christ, shall come to judge the quick and the dead.” Joan. Erem. p. 1300.

An old author says of Aletta, “She was often to be seen alone and on foot, on the road between Fontaines and

Dijon, visiting the cottages of the poor, and carrying provisions and remedies to the sick and afflicted, and administering instruction and spiritual consolation to them. She never allowed her domestics to assist her in these offices, so that it might truly be said, that her left hand knew not what her right hand performed. Aletta was buried at Dijon, where her remains reposed for 140 years, at the end of which time they were removed to Clairvaux."

In vain did the young nobles of his own age endeavour to dissuade Bernard from embracing a monastic life: he found little attraction in worldly pleasure, or in chivalrous exercises; and though in the study of literature he might have found a more congenial pursuit, after a little wavering, he determined to fulfil the wishes of that beloved mother, to whose early instructions he was so deeply indebted. With reference to this determination, Bernard said in after years to his monks:

"I am not ashamed to confess, that often, and particularly at the beginning of my conversion, I experienced great hardness of heart, and an extreme coldness. I sought after Him, whom my soul would fain love. Him, in whom my frozen spirit might repose and re-animate itself. But none came to succour me, and dissolve this strong ice which bound up all the spiritual senses, and to revive the sweetness and serenity of the spiritual spring, and thus my soul continued feeble and listless, a prey to grief, almost to despair, and murmuring internally. Who is able to abide His frost? Then on a sudden, and perhaps at the first word, or at the first sight of a spiritually-minded person, sometimes at the bare recollection of one dead or absent, the Holy Spirit would begin to breathe, and the waters to flow; then would tears be my meat day and night."

Not only did Bernard determine to embrace the monastic life himself, but he was eloquent in persuading others to do the same. We subjoin one of Bernard's letters, as a specimen of the mode of argument he used with his friends:

“The zeal which animates me is not of carnal growth, it springs from the desire of co-operating with you in working out our salvation. Nobility, strength, beauty, the pleasures of youth, the riches of the earth, palaces, places of dignity, the wisdom of this world, all these are to be found in the world. But how long will they last? They will vanish with the world,—before the world,—for in the twinkling of an eye you will, yourself, have left the world. Life is short, the world passeth away, and you will pass away before it. Why not then cease from loving that which will soon cease to be? Oh my brother, come without delay, and unite yourself to a man who loves you with a sincere and lasting affection. Even death will not separate two hearts that religion has joined. The happiness which I desire for you, has respect neither to time nor to the body, and will subsist independent of either. And not only so; it will increase when the body is destroyed, and when ‘there shall be no more time.’ And what comparison is there between this happiness and that offered by the world? The supreme good is that, of which nothing can deprive you. And what is that? Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard it; neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive it, for flesh and blood are incapable of it, it must be revealed to us by the Spirit of God. Blessed are they who have understood this word, ‘Ye are my friends, what I have heard of my Father that have I shown you.’” Ep. 107.

On another occasion, in writing to a young man, who was wavering in his resolution, he says, “Why should you be surprised to find yourself still fluctuating between good and evil, before you have yet placed your feet on the solid ground? Oh that you could apprehend my meaning! Only Thou, my God, must discover to the eye of man, the things which Thou hast prepared for them that love Thee. ‘Come unto me,’ saith the Saviour, ‘all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.’ Do you fear then to want strength, when it is the Truth that has pro-

mised to support you? May God grant you the knowledge of His law, and of His will." Ep. 206.

His humility prevented him from forming a new religious order, like other men of eminent piety, his contemporaries; and his enthusiasm and the reality of his religious impressions induced him to seek the most poorly endowed abbey with which he was acquainted. This was the convent of Citeaux, (Cistercians) situated in a barren wilderness in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Saone, and founded in the year 1098 by Robert, a nobleman of Champagne. Over this convent, in which the Benedictine rule was observed with more than its primitive severity, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, presided. To this monastery, at the age of twenty-three, Bernard retired with more than thirty associates, including among the number four of his brothers. With a delicate constitution, he quitted the luxuries of aristocratic life, and entered the strictest order of the day, to become a poor man, a rustic; for manual labour in the fields sometimes, and sometimes in the kitchen, and in sweeping the dormitory, formed part of the rule. He was never willing to give up this portion of the discipline, though his delicate frame could ill bear the fatigue. He is said to have become an expert reaper. But bodily labour was not suffered to preclude mental exertion, and it was in the cloister of Citeaux that Bernard acquired his wonderful knowledge of the Scriptures, meditating upon them before the morning light. Even during his labours in the field he could bring his mind to sacred meditation, and his feelings were alive to the inspiring beauties of inanimate nature: at a later period of his life we find him saying, "take the testimony of my own experience, and, believe me, thou wilt find more in woods than in books; and trees and stones will teach thee more than thou canst learn from man." The subject of his continual meditations was the sufferings of our blessed Lord and Saviour. It was from meditating on his Saviour's cross that he was so eager to take up his own. He

was wont to compare this exercise, says Neander, to the nosegay of myrrh, that the spouse in the Canticles had gathered with pious care to plant in her bosom. In one of the sermons on the Canticles he thus expresses himself on the subject:—"From the very beginning of my conversion, my brethren, feeling my own great deficiency in virtue, I appropriated to myself this nosegay of myrrh, composed of all the sufferings and the pains of my Saviour; of the privations to which He submitted in His childhood; the labours that He endured in His preaching; the fatigue that He underwent in His journeyings; of His watchings in prayer, His temptations in fasting, His tears of compassion; of the snares that were laid for Him in His words; of His perils among false brethren; of the outrages, the spitting, the smiting, the mockery, the insults, the nails; in a word, of all the grief of all kinds that He submitted to for the salvation of man. I have discovered that wisdom consists in meditating on these things, and that in them alone is the perfection of justice, the plenitude of knowledge, the riches of salvation, and the abundance of merit; and in these contemplations I find relief from sadness, moderation in success, and safety in the royal highway of this life; so that I march on between the good and evil, scattering on either side the perils by which I am menaced. This is the reason why I always have these things in my mouth, as you know, and always in my heart, as God knows; they are habitually recurring in my writings, as every one may see; and my most sublime philosophy is to know Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." Serm. 43, in Cant. Cantic.

The reputation of Bernard drew many votaries to Cîteaux, where, till his appearance among them, the society had long lived in apprehension of gradual extinction; for persons naturally dreaded an asceticism which, however admirable according to the notions of the age, they considered to be above the ordinary strength of man. But the influence and the example of Bernard changed the whole

aspect of affairs, and devotees from all quarters flocked to the convent. In 1115, Bernard was sent by the abbot with twelve associates to found a new establishment on the Cistercian system. The site had been granted to the abbot Stephen Harding, by Hugo, a knight of Champagne, who had been previously urged by devotional feeling to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and who subsequently joined the knights templars. It was a wild and desolate spot, in the bishopric of Langres. The place was called, for some unknown reason, the Valley of Wormwood, (*Vallis Absinthialis*) and had been the haunt of robbers; but since the extirpation of this plant it had been called the clear or bright valley, (*Clara-vallis*) or *Clair-vaux*. To found a monastery here Bernard was sent from Cîteaux. The ceremonial observed was simple and affecting. After a solemn service, the newly-elected abbot received from the hands of the president of the monastery a cross; he then rose, and quitted the church, followed by his twelve associates, and, having taken leave of the brethren, the community departed chanting an appropriate psalm. "When," says the Cistercian Chronicle, "Bernard and his twelve monks silently took their departure from the church, you might have seen tears in the eyes of all present, while nothing was to be heard but the voices of those who were singing the hymns; and even those brethren could not repress their sobs, in spite of that sense of religion which led them to make the strongest efforts to command their feelings. Those who remained, and those who departed, were all involved in one common sorrow, till the procession reached that gate which was to open for some, and to close upon the rest." *Ann. Cist. l. n. 6, 7, p. 79.*

Clairvaux and *Morimont*, founded in 1115, with the abbeys of *La Fêrto* and *Pontigny*, established the one in the year 1113, the other in 1114, were called *Les quatres filles de Cîteaux*.

The work in which they were engaged was no easy task, and no very agreeable duty: the privations to which the

poor monks were obliged for many months to submit are almost unheard of. Incessantly occupied in the erection of their monastic buildings, they had no opportunity of gaining their bread by their labours; and, as they had taken possession of the marshy desert that had been given up to them too late for sowing the ground, the earth of course yielded them no fruits: and the neighbouring proprietors, who had at first testified great admiration at the conduct of the devotees, and vied with each other in administering to their wants, became equally familiar with their sanctity and their necessities, and ceased to regard either. A coarse bread made of barley and millet, and beech leaves cooked in salt and water, formed their only nourishment; and this, too, at the beginning of the winter season. At last their supply of salt was exhausted, and the hearts of some of the fraternity began to fail them; but Bernard, calling to him one of the brethren, desired him to take the ass and buy salt at the market. The man prepared to do the bidding of his superior, but before he set out he asked for money to pay for the commodity. "Take faith," replied Bernard, "for as to money I know not when we shall have any; but He who holds my purse in His hands, and who is the depository of my treasure, is above." The monk smiled, and rejoined, "It seemeth to me, my father, that if I go empty handed, I shall return empty handed." "Nevertheless, go," replied the abbot; "and go in faith. I tell thee that our Great Treasurer will be with thee, and will supply all thy necessities." On this the poor friar, after receiving the benediction of his superior, set out with the ass on his journey. On his way "the God of all consolation was pleased to assist him, says the chronicler; for, meeting a priest who accosted him, and inquired his business, Guibert (for that was the name of the messenger) told his errand, and made known the penury of his convent; and the priest, touched with compassion, took him to his own home, and supplied him abundantly with all sorts of provisions. On Guibert's return with his replenished panniers, Bernard said to him,

“ I tell you, my son, nothing is more necessary to a Christian than faith : hold fast faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life.” These succours, and others equally unexpected, were however merely temporary, and Clairvaux soon relapsed into a condition of absolute destitution. The monks, exposed to cold and hunger and other privations, gave themselves up to despair, and openly manifested their wish of returning to Citeaux. Bernard himself was so far overpowered by witnessing the moral and personal sufferings of his brethren, that his health gave way, and he became incapable of preaching to them, and they were thus deprived at once of bodily and of spiritual sustenance. This state of things, which lasted sixteen or seventeen months, required all the influence and exertion of Bernard to prevent the utter dissolution of the infant establishment, and to turn this severe trial to the advantage of his brethren. At the expiration of this term many rich offerings were made to the convent, and the ground first broken by the labours of the starving monks, began to yield them her fruit, and to supply their most urgent necessities.

Of this monastery Bernard became the first abbot, and by his energy, talent and self-denial, which seemed in the eyes of his contemporaries to be miraculous, he soon rendered the Cistercian order celebrated : nine abbeys in the short space of five years sprung from Citeaux, and a constitution was formed for the rising order. Men of illustrious descent, who had formerly played a distinguished part on the theatre of the world, now by their hard labour, in the sweat of their brow, and by their ascetic self-denial, followed the example of Bernard. The most costly offerings were presented to the convent, and prepared for Clairvaux the great wealth that in the course of some decades of years it acquired.

“ The wealth of the convents,” as Neander remarks, “ was advantageous to the state, because the monks knew how to make the best use of it. In times of scarcity they often supplied hundreds of the poor with food. On occasion of

a great scarcity in Burgundy, the starving peasants flocked in such numbers to Clairvaux, that Bernard, finding he could not hope to afford nourishment to all till the next harvest, selected *two thousand*, whom he distinguished by a particular mark (*accepit sub signaculo*), and engaged to support entirely, while the rest received some smaller alms. V. Joh. Eremit. vit. Bernard. lib. ii. N. 6. ap. Mabill. t. ii. The monks of the Præmonstratensian abbey, founded by Norbert, undertook, in his absence, to supply five hundred poor persons with food during a scarcity. V. vit. Norbert. The clergy in general promoted the exercise of benevolence. The highly-esteemed Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, finding his resources inadequate to support the numbers who resorted to him during a famine, sold all his costly church plate, to buy food for them. Bernard instructed his friend the count Theobald, "*eleemosynas ea sagacitate disponere, ut semper fructificantes redivivis et renascentibus accessionibus novas semper eleemosynas parturiunt*," l. ii. auct. Ernald. cap. viii. N. 52."

The extreme mortifications of Bernard impaired his health so much, that on one occasion William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, to whom he applied for abbatial ordination, interfered, and obtained from the Cistercian chapter the superintendence of his friend for one year. He caused a sort of hut to be erected for him beyond the cloisters, where he was to remain for a year, without interfering in any way with the affairs of the monastery: but it does not appear from the account which is given of his retreat by his friend the abbot, William of St. Thierry, he was much benefited by the change."

"It was," says he, "about this time (1116) that my visits to Clairvaux commenced, and, coming to see the saint in company with another abbot, I found him in his cell, which was similar to those usually assigned to leprous persons on the highways. He had been relieved from the presidency of the convent by the commands of the bishop and the chapter, and was then enjoying a state of perfect tranquillity, living to God, and

transported with joy, as though he had already tasted the delights of Paradise. When I entered this chamber of royalty, and began to contemplate the lodgings and the guest, I was penetrated with the most profound respect; and, on entering into conversation with this man, I found such vivacity and such a sweetness in his discourse, that I conceived a strong desire to remain with him, and to share his poverty; so that, if I could have chosen my lot among all the world has to offer, I should have desired none other than that of staying always with the man of God as his servitor.

“After he had welcomed us with gracious kindness, we proceeded to ask what he did, and how he passed his life in this cell. He replied with that benevolent smile which is habitual to him, ‘I do well, very well here; for formerly reasonable beings submitted themselves to my orders; now, by the just judgment of God, I am obliged to submit myself to a man devoid of reason.’ This he said in reference to a conceited quack who had boastfully engaged to cure him, and to whose charge he had been committed by the bishop and the community. We sat at table with him, expecting to find him under the strictest regimen for the re-establishment of his precious health, so essential to all; but when we saw him served, and by the doctor’s orders, with viands so coarse and revolting (lumps of rancid butter constituted part of the fare), that a hungry person in good health would scarcely be persuaded to touch them, we were indignant, and our vow of silence alone withheld us from treating this empiric as a murderer and sacrilegious person. For the man of God, he was indifferent to these things, having lost all power of discriminating the flavour of meats, his stomach being entirely disordered, and incapable of performing its functions.” (It appears from the details that Bernard had completely lost the power of digesting any sort of food.)

“Such was the state in which I found this servant of Jesus Christ; such was his manner of life in his solitude;

but he was not alone,—God and His holy angels were with him.”

Of the diet commonly observed at Clairvaux, we have an account in the record of the visit of pope Innocent:—

“The bread, instead of being of fine wheaten flour, was of bran mingled with flour; instead of sweet wine, there was the juice of herbs (*sapa*, evidently the modern *soup*); and, in the place of all kinds of meat, there was nothing but vegetables; or if, by chance, there happened to be any fish, it was placed before our lord the pope, rather to be looked at than to be eaten.” Ernald. cap. i. No. 6, p. 1109.

The following is a copy of a translation of the Benedictine rule, given by Fosbrooke:—

“Abbot to represent Christ—to call all his monks to council in important affairs, and afterwards adopt the advice he thought best. Obedience without delay; silence; no sensuality, idle words, or such as excite laughter; humility; patience in all injuries; manifestation of secret faults to the abbot; contentment with the meanest things and employments; not to speak unasked; to avoid laughter; head and eyes inclined downwards; to rise to church two hours after midnight; every week the psalter to be sung through; to leave the church altogether, at a sign from the superior; a dean over every ten monks in large houses; light in the dormitory; to sleep clothed, with their girdles on, the young and old intermixed. Upon successful admonition and public reprehension, excommunication; and, in failure of this, personal chastisement. For light faults, the smaller excommunication, or eating alone after the others had done; for great faults, separation from the table, prayers, and society, and neither himself nor food to receive the benediction; those who joined him, or spoke to him, to be themselves excommunicated; the abbot to send seniors to persuade him to humility, and making satisfaction; the whole congregation to pray for the offender, and, if successful, to proceed to expulsion. No person expelled to be

received after the third expulsion. Children to be punished by fasting or whipping. Cellarer to do nothing without the abbot's order, and in large houses to have assistants. Habits and goods of the house to be in the hands of proper officers, the abbot to have an account of them. No property; distribution according to every one's necessities. The monks to serve weekly, and by turns, at the kitchen and table. On leaving their week, he that leaves and he that begins it, to wash the feet of the others, and on Saturday to clean all the plates, and the linen which wiped the others' feet. To resign the dishes clean and whole to the cellarer, who delivers them to the new hebdomadary. Those officers to have drink and food above the common allowance, before the others, that they may wait upon them cheerfully. The hebdomadaries, both entering and retiring from office, were, on solemn days, to continue till the masses; after matins on the Sunday, to kneel and beg the others to pray for them; then, those going out, to say a certain prayer three times, and receive the benediction; the one coming in to do the same, and, after benediction, to enter into office.

“Infirmarium—its offices. Use of the baths, and flesh for the sick ordered. Rule mitigated to children and old men, who had leave to anticipate the hours of eating. Refection in silence, and reading Scripture during meals. What was wanted, to be asked for by a sign. Reader to be appointed for the week. Two different dishes at dinner, with fruit. One pound of bread a-day, for both dinner and supper. No meat but to the sick. Three-quarters of a pint of wine daily. From Holyrood to Lent, dine at nones; in Lent till Easter, at six o'clock; from Easter to Lentward, at sextand all summer, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, then at nones. Collation or spiritual lecture every night before complin (after supper), and, complin finished, silence. Loss of rank, subtraction of wine or their allowance, or sitting in the place of disgrace, for tardiness at church or table. Prostration with the face to

the ground, without the church gate, when the monks went to pray, for the excommunicated. Immediate pardon to be sought for. A fault in the chant, faults in other places, or breaking anything, to be spontaneously acknowledged before the abbot and congregation. Abbot to give the signal for going to church, and nobody to sing or read there without his leave. Work from prime till near ten o'clock; from Easter till Cal. October, from ten till near twelve, reading. After refection, at twelve the meridian or sleep, unless any one preferred reading. After nones, labour again till the evening. From Cal. Oct. to Lent, reading till eight A. M.; then trine, and after labour till nones. After refection, reading or psalmody. In Lent, reading till trine; doing what was ordered till ten; delivery of the books at this season made. Senior to go round the house, and see that the monks were not idle. On Sunday all read, except the officers, and the idle and the infirm, who had work given them. Particular abstinence in Lent from meat, drink, and sleep, and especial gravity. Monks travelling, to say the canonical hours wherever they may happen to be. Monks staying out beyond a day not to eat abroad without the abbot's leave. No other use than that of prayer to be made of the church. Strangers to be received with prayers by them and the monks; the kiss of peace, prostration, and washing their feet, as of Christ, whom they represented; then to be led to prayer, the Scriptures read to them; after which the prior might break his fast (except on a high fast.) Abbot's kitchen distinct from that of the visitors, so that the monks might not be disturbed by the entrance of guests at unreasonable hours. No letters or presents to be received without the abbot's leave. Abbot to invite his monks when he had no strangers. Workmen in the house to labour for the common profit. Novices to be tried by denial and hard labour before admission; rule read to them in the interim every fourth month; admitted by a petition laid upon the altar, and prostration at the

feet of all the monks. Parents to offer their children by wrapping their hands in the pall of the altar, promising to leave nothing to them; and, if they gave anything with them, reserving the use of it during their lives. Priests requesting admission to be tried by delays; to sit near the abbot, but not to exercise sacerdotal functions without leave, and to conform to the rule. Strange monks to be received, and if good, entreated to stay. Monks ordained priests, to be subject to the rule and officers, or else expelled. Precedence, according to the time of profession. Elders to call the juniors brothers, the juniors to call the elders nonnos; the abbot Dominus or Peter. When two monks met, the junior was to ask benediction of the senior; and when he passed by, the junior was to rise and give him his seat, nor to sit till he had time. Abbot to be elected by the whole society, and plurality of votes, his life and prudence to be the qualifications. Prior elected by the abbot, deposable for disobedience. Porter to be a wise old man, able to give and receive an answer; he was to have a cell near the gate, and a junior for a companion. If possible to prevent evagation; water, mill, garden, oven, and all other mechanical shops, to be within the house. Monks going on a journey to have previous prayers of the house, and on return to pray for pardon of excesses by the way. Impossible things ordered by the superior to be humbly represented to him; but if he persisted, the assistance of God to be relied on for their execution. Not to defend or excuse one another's faults. No blows or excommunication without the permission of the abbot. Mutual obedience, but no preference of a private person's commands over those of a superior. Prostration at the feet of the superiors as long as they were angry." *Sanctorum Patrum Reg. Monast. Louv. 12mo. 1571, fol. 9. 51. Joh. de Turrecremata. Concordia Regularum, &c. &c.*

After his return to the monastery, Bernard found it necessary to relax somewhat of his austerity, and in after years regretted the excesses to which his enthusiasm had

led him, as tending to interfere with his usefulness by unduly reducing his strength. He was indeed called to active life at an early age, his opinion, advice, and meditation being sought by all persons and all classes, and his energetic mind thrusting him forward upon every occasion when the welfare of the Church was concerned.

The influence of Bernard over the minds of men of all classes seems to have been perfectly marvellous, and must in part be accounted for by the fact, that he lived up to the standard of religious excellence which was at that time set before the minds of men, so far as the infirmities of human nature would permit. He was single-minded, he had no selfish objects in view; his simple desire was to promote the interests of religion, and maintain the purity and independence of the Church, and this he was prepared to do at all hazards against monarchs and against the pope himself. He was fearless of man, and of his integrity no one could entertain a doubt. It is astonishing what one man may do, if he can obliterate every selfish feeling and motive. Then again, his extreme vivacity and the fiery energy of his manner produced such an impression upon the minds of men, even of those who only saw him and heard nothing but the sound of his voice, that, as it is related in his life, when he preached to the Germans, they were moved to tears by his exhortations without having understood a single word of the language in which they were uttered. The thinness of his slightly built frame, only made people think of the precious soul which that frail earthen vessel contained. His neck especially was very long and delicate, and his personal appearance such as to attract attention. We have an instance on record of the manner in which he turned this to advantage on a particular occasion: when at a later period of life he had been preaching at Toulouse, at the conclusion of his sermon, he was about to mount his horse, when one of the sectaries came forward, and called aloud to him, "Know, my lord abbot, that the horse of our master, against whom you have been speaking

so freely, is by no means so fat and well-conditioned as yours." Bernard, without manifesting the least disturbance, replied with a good-humoured glance at the man, "I do not deny it, my friend; but I would thou shouldst remember that this is a *boast* for the which thou dost reprove me. Now, to be fat and well-conditioned is suitable to the nature and appointment of beasts; and God, who will not judge us for such matters, is not thereby offended; but every man shall answer for *himself*." And so saying, he threw back his cowl, and discovered his wasted throat, and thin and withered countenance; and this was to the people the most conclusive refutation of the sectarian.

No restraint was felt by Bernard in addressing persons of higher station in the Church than himself, and simple monk, as he was, he did not feel that he was stepping out of his line when, for the good of the Church, he thought it expedient to admonish bishops and archbishops. We have an instance of this in the case of Henry of Sens, one of the most distinguished of the French prelates, who on his determining to amend his life, which had not been strictly episcopal, received from Bernard a treatise on the duties of a bishop. Such was the object of Bernard's work, *De moribus et officio Episcoporum*. He first draws the character of a true priest, who, by a genuine *spiritual* life becomes an example to his flock. "Is it fitting," he says, "that the shepherd should, like the animals, follow the sensual appetites, that he should cleave to the vilest things, and seek after earthly matters? And not rather, standing erect like a man, look up by the Spirit into heaven, in search of the Supreme God?" He then represents the vocation of a Christian priest, as it appeared to him in that age. "As a good mediator he brings to God the prayers and pious purposes of the congregation, and conveys back to them the blessing and the grace of God; he implores the Supreme Being for the forgiveness of sinners, and rebukes sinners for their offences against God: the unthankful he reminds of God's favours; the

blasphemous and despisers, of his inexorable justice ; yet striving all the while to reconcile their offended God to them ; now exhibiting the weakness of man, and then dwelling on the greatness of their Heavenly Father's love. A faithful priest, who regardeth, with dove-like simplicity, all the wealth that passes through his hands, whether it be of ' the dew of heaven from above,' or the vows of men that are offered unto God, keeping back nought for himself, and seeking, not the gifts, but the good of his flock ; not his own glory, but the glory of God."

After having proposed this pattern of a priest and minister, Bernard goes on to rebuke the opposite errors and abuses ; the pomp of the clergy, especially in their dress, the costly foreign furs, worn on occasions of ceremony (c. 15), and their horse furniture, decorated as it was with the richest ornaments, and glittering with gold and precious stones. With the most moving earnestness he reminds them, that what they thus lavish in vain pomp is taken from the poor. The naked and the hungry complain, and cry aloud " You are squandering that which belongs to us, for we also are God's creatures, and the Blood of Christ was shed for our redemption as well as yours." " If," says Bernard to the archbishop (c. 7), " he be tempted to pride by his condition, his age, his learning, or the dignity of his episcopal see, he will be straightway humbled, and filled with dread by the consciousness of the responsibility of his calling ; and indeed, it is only because men are prevented by the glare of the splendour which surrounds them, from discerning their duties and burdens, that they press forward to the highest ecclesiastical offices." Here he manifests his displeasure at the traffic which is carried on in holy things. " School-boys and beardless youths, whose birth is their only merit, are promoted to ecclesiastical dignities—boys who rejoice in these chiefly as a means of escaping from the rod. And what is yet more wonderful, the clergy themselves, impelled only by covetousness and ambition, overlook their duties and burdens in their eager seeking after higher

dignities. Is one a bishop, he then aspires to an archbishopric; has he attained that, he then dreams of something still higher, and by tedious journeys and costly friendships, seeks to purchase partizans at the court of Rome. Some endeavour to get all privileges at once. Under the pretext of extending their dioceses beyond their proper limits, they appropriate to themselves that which does not belong to them, and alas! even *on the very threshold of the Apostles*, they find men capable of favouring their evil purposes: not that the Romans take any great interest in the *result of the business*, but because they gladly receive the bribes that it brings with it." By the side of this greedy ambition, Bernard places the affected humility, with which men entered on the episcopal office, and which had become a mere formal etiquette. "Verily (c. 16), as though ye had been *forced* into the bishopric, ye did weep and complain of compulsion, and style yourselves wretched and unworthy, and altogether unmeet for so holy an office."

It is well for the admirers of the medieval church, to the disparagement of the church of England, as it now exists in its reformed state, to learn the character of medieval ecclesiastics from statements such as these. We are by no means among those who would depreciate those times: virtues then flourished which we are unable to equal, but vices also prevailed from which we are happily liberated; and when we complain of either the worldliness or the ignorance of our bishops, if the charge can be substantiated, we must not forget that worldliness and ignorance prevailed also in the middle ages, and as then, so now, the learning and the disinterestedness of many are to be dwelt upon with thankfulness, and are to be placed in contrast with the faults of those who form, it is always to be hoped, the exception to the rule. We would not depreciate the past ages by comparison with the present, or the present by comparison with the past. Each has its peculiar virtues, and its peculiar faults.

Nor did Bernard spare the papal court. A quarrel

having ensued between Louis the Sixth, king of France, and the clergy of the Gallican church, the latter laid the kingdom under an interdict, and the king procured the pope's authority for the removal of the interdict: for the popes as often interfered to impede as to support the discipline of the Church, and it had been long since discovered by the worldly-wise, that at the Romish court it was not exactly the interests of the Church which had the ascendancy. Bernard boldly complained to the pope in his own name and in that of many other persons; and although his representations had then effect, he received a significant hint from the papal chancellor, Haimerich, that "he should no longer trouble himself so much with the affairs of the world, since this was unbecoming a monk." Bernard, in justifying himself, and while expressing the greatest possible deference to the see of Rome, took occasion to utter some home-truths to the papal court; concluding his vindication with the remark, that "even if we were to hide ourselves and hold our peace, the murmurs of the Church would still continue, while the court of Rome continues to give judgment according to the wishes of those who are present, rather than the rights of those who are absent." He professed his disinclination at the same time to join in these controversies; and we are to remember of Bernard, that his great external activity was never permitted to interfere with the inward life of his contemplative nature: he was always striving, says Neander, to impart to others, both by his writings and discourses, some portion of the spirit by which he was himself replenished. As a specimen of his pious meditations, and in evidence of his profoundly religious spirit, the following extract is given from his epistle to Hugh, prior of the Carthusians:

"Love is that eternal, creating, and ruling law, by which all things were made in their appointed measure, number, and weight; and there is nothing without law, for even the law of all things is subject to a law, although indeed it be to its own law, through which,

though it did not indeed create, yet it rules the world. But the slaves and hirelings have not received their law from the Lord, but from themselves, while they love more than God that which is not God. Thus have they received a self-imposed law, differing from the law of God, and yet subject to it, since they cannot withdraw it from the unchangeable ordinances of God. That is to say, that every creature hath, by preferring his own will to the eternal and universal law, and by thus striving by crooked ways to imitate the Creator, made a bye-law for himself. Now it was the effect of God's eternal and righteous law that those creatures that would not submit to be governed by God in the enjoyment of holiness, should be overruled by themselves to their own punishment; and, as they had voluntarily cast away the light and pleasant yoke of love, so must they perforce and involuntarily bear the heavy burthen of their own will. Whereas we are first fleshly, our desires and our love must be brought out of the flesh, and when they have taken the right direction, they shall by the aid of grace, ascending by certain and sure degrees, at last be perfected in the spirit. At first man loves himself for his own sake, but when he becomes conscious that he cannot exist by himself, he begins to seek after and to love God, as necessary to the support of his existence: at this second step man loves God indeed, but it is for his own sake, and not in obedience to the will of God. But when he hath once begun to raise his thoughts to God, to pray to Him, to obey Him, though it be from selfishness, God reveals Himself to him by degrees in this confidential intercourse. He wins his love, and so having tasted the good will of the Lord, man passes to the third step, to love God for God's sake, and on this step he remaineth; for I know not whether any man hath in this life ever reached the fourth step altogether—namely, to love himself only for God's sake. But this shall come to pass when the faithful servants shall have entered into the joy of their Lord; then, satiated with the riches of the house of God, and forgetful of themselves, they shall, in a

wonderful manner, be wholly merged in God, and united with Him in one spirit."

Vain indeed is all zeal for religion, unless there be an austere regulation of the inward man; zeal without love is a mere human passion, and may make men persecutors, but will never make them saints.

Bernard was called forth from his retirement by the very power which, when he acted counter to its interests, sought to compel him to retire. It was by the express command of Matthew of Alba, the papal legate, that he unwillingly took part in the deliberations of the council which assembled at Troyes in 1128, where the order of knights templars received its more settled form. It had in a manner existed from the year 1118, when nine men of illustrious descent, united for the purpose of keeping the road to the Holy Sepulchre open for pilgrims, and consecrated their lives to the service; taking the vows of canons regular before the patriarch of Jerusalem. They derived their title, Knights Templars, or Knights of the Temple, from their place of residence, which was the site of Solomon's Temple. For ten years the association existed without a fixed rule, or any addition to their number. But at the council of Troyes they received their rule; and through the recommendation and influence of Bernard, the order was greatly extended. He even wrote in their favour, and his "Commendation of the New Order of Knighthood," *Liber de Laude Novæ Militiæ Templi*, was written at the request of Hugo-a-Paganis, the first grandmaster.

But the energies of Bernard's mind were employed even in the minor controversies between the monks of his own order and the Cluniacs, whom he accused of various deviations from the Benedictine rule, and of unnecessary expense, not only in their domestic arrangements, but in the decorations of their churches. Peter the Venerable was abbot of Clugni, and he signalized his Christian moderation and gentleness in composing the differences between the rival orders. Bernard had attacked the

Cluniacs with his usual unsparing vigor, and Peter the Venerable had defended them with judgment, but with determination. A misunderstanding between the abbots arose more than once, but they were united by feelings of friendship and respect, and it is pleasant to read the following letter written at a later period by Bernard to Peter :

“What are you about, my good man? you laud a sinner and beatify a miserable creature. You must add a prayer, that I may not be led into temptation. For I shall be led into it, if, feeling complacency in such compliments, I begin not to know myself. How happy now might I be, if words could make me happy. Happy nevertheless I shall call myself, but in your regard, not in my own praises. Happy that I am loved by, and that I love, you. Though indeed this morsel, sweet as it is to me, must be a little modified. Do you wonder why? It is because I do not see what claim I have to such affection, especially from such a man. You know, however, that to desire to be more beloved than one deserves is unjust. I would that I might be enabled to imitate, as well as to admire, that mark of humility. I would that I might enjoy your holy and desired presence, I do not say always, or even often, but at least once a year. I think I should never return empty. I should not, I say, look in vain at a pattern of discipline, a mirror of holiness. And (that which, I confess, I have as yet but too little learned of Christ) I should not quite in vain have before my eyes your example of meekness and lowliness of heart. But if I go on to do to you what I have complained of your doing to me, though I may speak the truth, yet I shall act contrary to the word of truth, which commands us not to do to others what we would not that they should do to us. Therefore let me now reply to the little request with which you concluded your letter. He whom you order to be sent to you is not at present with me, but with the bishop of Auxerre, and so ill, that he could not, without great inconvenience, come either to me or to you.”

A schism existed in the papacy about this time, cardinal Gregorio having been elected pope by one party, by the name of Innocent the Second; and cardinal Petrus Leonis, who took the name of Anacletus the Second, having been elected by another party. The decision of the rival claims of the respective popes was remitted by king Louis to his bishops, and they accordingly assembled at Etampes for this purpose in 1130. To the council the abbot of Clairvaux was summoned. The case was left entirely in his hands, and his decision in favour of Innocent was unanimously deemed conclusive: a fact which is less surprising, when we are informed that the members of the council were already predisposed in favour of Innocent. It was one of those circumstances which rendered Bernard so powerful, that his constitutional cast of thought and feeling was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and it was generally felt that when he was consulted he would come to the conclusion which would commend itself to the judgment of the vast majority of his contemporaries. Bernard was not of a disposition to patronize Innocent by halves, but as through him France had been induced to regard him as the true pope, the indefatigable abbot never rested in his exertion until he had secured his recognition in other regions of the West. His labours, especially in Italy, were great, and while kings and prelates were ready to defer to him, his popularity among the common people was such, that wherever he appeared they crowded around him, and almost worshipped him as a saint. At Milan, we are told "that at his nod all gold and silver ornaments were removed from the churches, and shut up in chests, as being offensive to the holy abbot; men and women clothed themselves either in hair-cloth, or in the meanest woollen garments," and did whatever he directed. They earnestly desired to detain him among them as their metropolitan, and entreated his acceptance of the archiepiscopal office, but Bernard had long since determined on refusing any elevated post in the Church, choosing rather, as a simple monk, to have the guidance

of princes and prelates, than to become either bishop or pope himself. At the same time we have to regret that Bernard was one of those who, with the best intentions, advocated the papal supremacy, and entertained the idea of there being a universal bishop, to whom all other bishops ought to submit.

In 1135 Bernard set out from Italy on his return to France. On his passage over the Alps he was met by crowds of shepherds and peasants, who came to receive his blessing. His return through the north of Italy, Switzerland, and France, resembled a royal progress. At the gates of Placentia he was received by the bishop and clergy, who conducted him in solemn procession into their city. At Florence he met with a similar reception. The shepherds of the Alps forsook their flocks to come and ask his benediction. From Besançon he was solemnly escorted to Langres, and at a short distance from that city he found his brethren from Clairvaux, who had hastened to meet him on the news of his approach. "They fell on his neck, they embraced his knees, they spoke to him by turns, and full of joyous exultation they accompanied him to Clairvaux," says the Annalist of Cîteaux.

It was soon after Bernard's return, that the rebuilding of Clairvaux commenced. The monastery was no longer capable of containing the numbers who flocked to it for admission; a hundred novices, principally from the banks of the Rhine, where Bernard had preached the preceding year, had been recently received, and the original building, placed in the angle formed by two hills, could not be enlarged so as to accommodate them. It was necessary to pull it down and rebuild it entirely. The expense of so vast an undertaking weighed heavily on the mind of Bernard. "Remember," he said to his monks, "remember the labour and cost of our present house, with what infinite pains did we at last succeed in constructing aqueducts to bring water into our offices and workshops; and what would now be said of us if we were to destroy our

own work? We should be counted fools, and with reason, since we have no money. Let us not then forget that word of the Gospel, ‘that he who would build a tower, must first sit down and calculate the cost.’” To this the brethren replied, “You must either repulse those who are sent to you by God, or you must build lodgings for them; and surely we should be truly miserable, if through fear of the expense we were to oppose any obstacles to the development of God’s work.” The abbot, touched by these representations, yielded to the general wishes of the community, offerings flowed in from all parts, and the buildings advanced with incredible rapidity. Thibaut, count of Champagne, granted the charter of this second foundation in the year 1135, and with his daughter Matilda, countess of Flanders, and her husband, Philip, who were subsequently buried at Clairvaux, contributed largely to the endowment, as well as Ermengarde, countess of Bretagne. It is described in the deed of enrollment, as “in Banno Morasma quæ vocatur Bellum Pratum.” In the hill situate to the west of this valley, was a spring of clear water, which after making its way to the meadows below, lost itself under ground, and at a little distance re-appeared; and it was at this point that the new monastery was erected. The monks had timber at hand for their buildings, for the forest of Clairvaux is stated to have been 7000 toises in length, and 3000 in breadth, that is, about eight miles long and three broad.

Of Bernard, in his retirement and as abbot of Clairvaux, we have the following interesting account:

In spite of the delicacy of his health, Bernard was in the habit of preaching every day to his monks. His eloquence, according to the statement of his contemporaries, was overpowering. His voice, though weak, was wonderfully flexible and melodious, and its effect was enhanced by a countenance which expressed every emotion of his sensitive heart. It is said that we owe the discourses

which have come down to us, to the care of the monks, who wrote them as he delivered them.

It was during this interval of retirement in his "beloved Jerusalem," as Bernard was accustomed to call Clairvaux, that he composed his sermons on the Canticles; in which, says Milner, "we have laid before us the inward soul of a saint of the 12th century, confessing and describing the vicissitudes of spiritual consolation and declension; which, with more or less variety, are known to real Christians in all ages of the Church." They were preached to his brethren at the daily service, and it appears from one of his letters that he was led to make choice of this divine book as the text of his discourses, from his own intimate consciousness of the force of divine love as a motive of action. "For myself," says Bernard, "I serve God freely, because I serve him from love, and it is to the practice of this love that I exhort you, my beloved and dear children. Serve God with love, with that perfect love which casteth out fear, which feels not the burden of the day, which counts not the cost of the labour, which works not for wages, and which is yet the most powerful motive of action." "We must," he says elsewhere, "regard rather the affections than the expressions in the *Song of Songs*. Love is the speaker throughout, and if any one wish to understand it, it must be by love. He who loveth not, will in vain approach either to hear or to read, for this discourse of fire can never be apprehended by a heart of ice." "This sweet colloquy requireth chaste ears, and in the loving ones whom it pourtrayeth do not represent to yourselves a man and woman, but the Word and the soul, Jesus Christ and the Church, which is the same thing, except that the Church, instead of one soul, denotes the unity of many." During the rebuilding of the abbey, Bernard lived in a green arbour, which he had erected in the most retired part of the valley, and there it was his wont to meditate on the subjects of his discourses, which were often preached extempore, after being prepared by meditation and prayer. He

was interrupted by a second call to Italy, but resumed the subject on his return ; and it was soon after this, that he had to deplore the loss of his favourite brother Gerard, the companion of all his journeyings, who died triumphantly in his arms, chanting a psalm of thanksgiving, on the 13th of April, 1139. Like David, Bernard had given way to his grief while Gerard was languishing and dying, but when all was over, he stifled every sign of feeling, and even presided at the funeral rites with an air of the most profound calmness and insensibility, while all around him were dissolved in tears ; a circumstance the more remarked by his brethren, because he had ever before wept over every monk whom he had lost, with the tenderness of a mother. At the accustomed hour, Bernard, who never suffered any circumstances to interrupt the performance of his religious duties, mounted the pulpit as usual, and continued the exposition of the Canticles ; but on a sudden he stopped, overcome by his feelings, and almost suffocated by the grief he had repressed ; then after a pause he continued, and the tribute he paid to his brother in this unpremeditated funeral oration affords a lively portrait of his own affectionate character.

Without referring to some of those slighter traits which might be alluded to as characterizing Bernard's activity at this epoch of his life, for he was not permitted to remain long in retirement, we must allude to his controversy with the notorious Abelard, and his opposition to the system of treating theological subjects which was at this period introduced. A taste for philosophical studies had now spread itself among theologians, and there grew up a *scholastic*, as distinguished from positive or traditional theology, which for four centuries continued to engage the attention of eminent men in the Church. From the beginning of the twelfth century, Paris became the chief seat of the new science, and Abelard its favourite doctor. In the first of the periods into which the scholastic theology may be divided, its disciples contented themselves with a dialectic treatment of the received system of the

Church, but Abelard became bolder, and the further he pushed his irreverent speculations, the greater was the enthusiasm of his scholars. He was led by his profane and irreverent speculations into many heresies, asserting that the mysteries of faith are subject to reason, and holding, with reference to the Trinity, views nearly approaching to modern Socinianism. On the person of Christ he agreed with the Nestorians; and with the Pelagians, in the opinion that His death was not the price of our redemption, but that He was only an example of patience, perseverance, charity, and virtue. His *Introductio ad Theologiam* was condemned by the synod of Soissons, in 1121. But his condemnation only served to increase his fame among his self-willed disciples, who followed him in great numbers to his retirement near Nogent. Abelard, thus supported, after a little time resumed the teaching of his heterodoxies, and his philosophy was diffused beyond the Alps and the seas, by his writings and by his enthusiastic scholars.

It was on Bernard's return to Clairvaux, after his last visit to Rome, that his attention was called to this destructive philosophy by his friend the abbot of St Thierry, who wrote to urge him to exert himself in the cause of the "faith, of our common hope, now grievously and dangerously corrupted." With his letter he sent Abelard's "Theology," to which he had appended his own remarks. It would appear from this letter that Bernard had been at first *favourably* inclined towards Abelard, for the abbot William thus concludes his letter: "If I can convince you that I am justly moved, I trust that you also will be moved, and in an important cause like this, will not fear to part with him, though he be a foot, a hand, or an eye. I myself have loved him, and wish to do so still, God is my witness; but in this cause, I see neither relation nor friend."

The self-distrusting humility of Bernard is fully evinced in his answer. "I think your zeal both just and

necessary, and that it was not idle, the book you have sent me demonstrates But as I have not been accustomed to trust to my own judgment, especially on things of so great importance, I believe the best way would be for you and me to meet and talk over the subject. Yet even this, I think, cannot be done till after Easter, lest the devotions of the holy season be disturbed. I must beseech you to have patience with me, and to pardon my silence on the subject, since I was hitherto ignorant of most, if not all the particulars. As to that which you exhort me to, God is able to inspire me with His good Spirit through your prayers."

Having thoroughly investigated the subject, Bernard, now fully impressed with its awful magnitude, undertook a journey to visit and privately confer with Abelard. In these conferences he kindly admonished him of his errors, and intreated him to correct them. This attempt proving fruitless, he took two or three persons with him, according to the precept of the Gospel, and in their presence expostulated with the innovator. Finding all these endeavours utterly ineffectual, and having proved himself sufficiently clear from personal malice, or blind precipitation, he began, as far as he could, to warn the disciples of Abelard against the errors of their master, and to guard the Christian world against the growing heresy.

Abelard, whose aim was not truth, but victory, and the establishment of his own fame, rejoiced in an opportunity of entering, as he hoped, into a controversy with one so eminent as St Bernard. A numerous synod being summoned to assemble at Sens in the year 1140, he declared himself ready to dispute with Bernard, and to refute his charges. He was ready, with the chivalrous spirit of a literary knight errant, to maintain his cause. But Bernard knew that the doctrines of the faith are too sacred to be converted into subjects for dialectic disputation: he knew that the proper course was to have the opinions of Abelard compared with the indisputable doc-

trines of the Church. They were orthodox or not; if orthodox, let him be acquitted; if not, let him be condemned. In the first instance, therefore, Bernard declined the invitation which had been sent him by the archbishop of Sens. He says, "I declined the challenge, partly because I was but a youth, and he a man of-war from his youth; partly, because I hold it unmeet to subject matters of faith, which are grounded on sure and steadfast truth, to the subtleties of human argumentation. I replied that his writings are sufficient to accuse him, and that it is not my business, but that of the bishops, whose vocation it is to decide questions of faith. Notwithstanding, yea, the rather for this answer, he lifted up his voice, so as to attract many, and assembled his adherents. I will not relate the things that he wrote of me to his scholars, but he affirmed everywhere that he would meet and dispute with me, on the appointed day, at Sens. The news reached all men, and could not be hidden from me. At first I disregarded it as idle gossip, undeserving of credit, but finally I yielded, though with great reluctance, and with many tears, to the counsel of my friends; for, seeing that all men were preparing themselves for the conference as for an encounter of combatants, they feared lest my absence should be a stumbling-block to the people, and an occasion of triumph to the adversary, who would wax stronger if none could be found to oppose him. So I came to the appointed place at the time appointed, but unprepared, and mindful of those words of Scripture, 'Do not premeditate how you shall answer, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall say;' and that other, 'The Lord is my helper; whom, then, shall I fear?'"

Bernard proceeded on the principle he had laid down for himself. The king himself was present at the council, surrounded by the most eminent prelates of the Gallican Church, and by all who were distinguished for learning or pretensions to learning. It was a grand opportunity for intellectual display, but Bernard was above the tempta-

tion. He declined to argue; he merely selected certain passages from the writings of Abelard, and then produced from the fathers passages by which they were refuted. Abelard perceived that instead of being a disputant secure of a faction to applaud him, he was placed as a prisoner upon his trial: he was therefore silent, and the propositions from his writings were, as a matter of course, condemned as heretical. He appealed to the pope: for all parties, heterodox and orthodox, conspired at this time in elevating the papal authority. The pope condemned all the corrupt doctrines of Abelard, together with their author, who, as a heretic, was enjoined perpetual silence. For an account of Abelard's retirement to the abbey of Clugni, his reconciliation with Bernard, his retractation, penitence, and death, the reader is referred to the life of Abelard, already given.

About the year 1140, Bernard was involved in an important controversy concerning what was called the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. Several Churches in France began about that time to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended *conception*. It is reported by some authors that it had been introduced into our own church of England before this period, in consequence of the exhortations of archbishop Anselm. The Church of Lyons was the first which adopted this new festival in France, which no sooner came to the knowledge of St Bernard, than he severely censured the canons of Lyons on account of this innovation, and opposed the immaculate conception of the Virgin with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her to be honoured with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the canons of Lyons, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the more orthodox sentiments of St Bernard. The controversy, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on during this century with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But in after times, as Mosheim remarks, when the Dominicans were established

in the academy of Paris, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated on both sides with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St Bernard, while the academy patronized the canons of Lyons, and adopted the new festival.

Bernard was soon after taken by surprise when he heard that his protégé and namesake whom, at the request of Innocent, he had sent to preside over the Cistercian monastery at Rome, had been elected pope under the name of Eugenius the Third. Bernard had been his spiritual father, and indeed in early life Eugenius had resigned an honourable and lucrative office in the church of Pisa, to place himself at Clairvaux under Bernard. The letter which Bernard addressed the new pope is characteristic: "I dare no longer," writes Bernard to the new pope, "call you my son, for the son is become the father, the father the son; yet I envy you not; for that which is lacking to me, I trust to obtain in you, for you are my work. I may call you my son in the spirit, and 'a wise son is the joy of his father,' (Prov. x. 1.) But from henceforth you shall no more be called my son, for a new name have you received, which the Lord Himself hath given you. This change is from the Most High, and many shall rejoice thereat. As Simon was turned into Cephas, and Saul to Paul, so I trust that for you it shall also be a blessed transformation that has made of my son Bernard, my father Eugenius. And now that this change has been made in you, the Lamb's Bride committed to your care must likewise be changed, and made better. If you be indeed the Bridegroom's friend, appropriate not to yourself *His* Church, or appropriate it only so as to be willing to lay down your life for it, in case of necessity. If you be sent by Christ, you will consider that you are 'come not to be ministered unto, but to minister.' Then shall the Church, freed from her bondage, and transfigured, shine forth as the beloved of Him Who is the only object of her desire. But if you, who

have formerly learned to renounce not only your own, but yourself, should now (which may God forbid !) be found seeking your own in that which belongeth to Christ, from whom shall the Church look for that freedom to which she is entitled ? Confiding, then, more in you than in any of your predecessors for a long season, the universal Church rejoiceth, and especially that Church which has borne you in her bosom, and at whose breast you have imbibed the new life. And shall I not share the common joy ? Yea, truly, I confess it, *I* also rejoiced ; but in the moment of rejoicing, fear and trembling seized me, for though I have laid aside the name of father, yet have I *not* laid aside the tender love and anxious solicitude of a father. You have taken a higher place, but not so safe an one. ‘ The place whereon thou standest is holy ground ; ’ the place of the first of the apostles ; the place of him whom God made lord of His house, and ruler of His kingdom, who is buried in this place to appear as a witness against you, if in anything you depart from the way of the Lord. To one who with a clear conscience could say, ‘ Silver and gold have I none,’ was the Church committed in her infancy, that taught by his words, and edified by his example, she might learn to despise all earthly things.”

After exhorting the pope to reprove certain worldly-minded men on some particular occasion, he continues : “ O ! that I might see the Church, before I die, as it was in the days of the apostles, who made it their business to win not silver and gold, but souls. How earnestly do I desire to hear from you, who occupy the apostle’s place, the apostle’s sentence,—‘ Thy money perish with thee ! ’ (The answer of Peter to Simon Magus, Acts viii. 26.) O ! word of thunder, at which all the enemies of Zion should arise and flee away ! And this doth your Mother the Church require of you : for this do her children, small and great, continually sigh,—namely, that you should root out every plant which your Heavenly Father hath not planted ; for you are set over nations and kingdoms to

root out and to destroy, and to build up and to plant. Yet, in all your undertakings, remember that you are but a man; and let the fear of Him who taketh away the breath of princes, be ever before your eyes. How many popes have been removed by death, even in your own time! Let these, your predecessors, be silent monitors of the shortness and uncertainty of your own life, and, amid the flatteries of surrounding royalty, let your thoughts be ever on your latter end."

Eugenius was involved in great difficulties owing to the insubordination of the Roman people, excited, as their passions had been, by the eloquence of Arnold of Brescia, and Bernard exerted his influence with the emperor to obtain for him assistance, when the attention of both, and indeed of the civilized world, was called to an undertaking of yet greater importance,—the second Crusade.

It was in the year 1145 that information was received in Europe of the perilous condition of the newly established kingdom in the East. Edessa was taken by the Saracens; Antioch and Jerusalem were threatened. The news excited universal sorrow. Louis the Seventh, king of France, in a penitential spirit, was the first who prepared to arm in defence of the Holy Sepulchre. The French king's determination was approved by the pope, Eugenius III; and Bernard was commissioned to travel through France and Germany for the purpose of raising an army of crusaders. The success of Bernard was marvellous. The unwilling emperor, Conrad III, yielded at length to his impassioned eloquence. In his management of Conrad, the *tact* and good taste of Bernard were conspicuous. It was at Frankfort-on-Maine that he had his first private audience. When the emperor then gave him to understand how little interest he took in the matter, Bernard pressed the subject no farther, but awaited another opportunity. After having succeeded in making peace between several of the princes of the empire, he preached the crusade publicly, exhorting the emperor and princes to participate in it, at the diet held

at Christmas in the city of Spires. Three days after this, he again addressed the emperor in private, and exhorted him, in a friendly and affectionate manner, not to lose the opportunity of so short, so easy, and so honourable a mode of penance. Conrad, already more favourably disposed to the undertaking, replied that he would advise with his councillors, and give him an answer on the following day. The next day Bernard officiated at the holy communion, to which he unexpectedly added a sermon in reference to the crusade. Towards the conclusion of his discourse, he turned to the emperor, and addressed him frankly, as though he had been a private man. He described the day of judgment, when the men who had received such innumerable benefits from God, and yet had refused to minister to Him to the utmost of their power, would be left without reply or excuse. He then spoke of the blessings which God had in such overflowing measure poured upon the head of Conrad; the highest worldly dominion, treasures of wealth, gifts of mind and body, till the emperor, moved even to tears, exclaimed, "I acknowledge the gifts of the divine mercy, and I will no longer remain ungrateful for them. I am ready for the service to which He Himself hath exhorted me." At these words a universal shout of joy burst from the assembly; the emperor immediately received the cross, and several of the nobles followed his example. Bernard then took from the altar the consecrated banner, and delivering it to the emperor, by whom it was to be carried in person at the head of the crusaders, he proceeded with him from the church to his lodgings.

It appears from contemporary records, that one great difficulty which Bernard had to encounter in preaching the crusade, originated in the religious societies for the building of churches, then the great object of popular devotion. These church building societies were regularly organized, and persons of both sexes and of all ranks aspired to the honour of labouring in them. No one could be admitted till he had reconciled himself to God, by a devout and

humble confession of his sins, a vow of obedience to the superior of the association, and an engagement to perform all the offices of charity for the sick. The congregation then marched over hill and dale, under the conduct of a priest, and with banner displayed, to the field of their joint labours. Some curious details on this subject may be seen in a letter given by Mabillon, *Arm. Ord. S. Bernd.* t. vi. p. 392. It was written in the year 1145, by Haimo, abbot of St Pierre, in Normandy, who saw a magnificent cathedral rising on the site of his humble parish church.

“Who has ever heard of such a thing?” exclaims the astonished abbot, “who has ever seen princes, mighty lords, men-at-arms, and delicate women, bend their necks to the yoke to which they suffer themselves to be attached like beasts of draught, so as to move heavy burdens? Sometimes thousands of them are to be seen fastened to one machine, of great weight, loaded with wheat, wine, and oil; with lime, stone, and all the materials necessary for the workmen, which they drag from surprising distances. Nothing stops their progress; neither hills, valleys, nor rivers, which they cross as did formerly the people of God. And what is still more wonderful, this innumerable company pursues its march without noise or confusion. Their voices are never heard except at a given signal, when they are raised to implore pardon for their sins, or to chant the praises of God.”

It will be evident that these associations, so interesting to the imagination, presented a formidable obstacle to the successful preaching of the crusade. It must indeed have been difficult to persuade men who had consecrated their lives to the advancement of the cause of religion in their native land, and who were cheered by the sight of their daily progress, to desert the sacred work in which they were engaged, for an object of remote interest and dubious attainment. Yet even this obstacle was surmounted by the eloquence of Bernard.

In the course of the year a numerous host of crusaders

took their departure for the East. The observations of Neander on this subject are liberal and just, which in one who professes liberality, is always agreeable, though not very common. "So powerful," he says, "in this age was the influence of sensations of devotional remembrance, that men of all ranks left their goods and their homes, and were ready to lay down their lives to deliver from the hands of the infidel those localities which they justly regarded as the most sacred in the world, from their having been hallowed by events the most sublime and touching, and of universal interest; and to open them again for the access of piety and devotion. It was, indeed, a *mistake* to seek by violence and blood, the conquest of that place from which peace was to be shed abroad upon the whole human race; and these rude warriors, actuated by devotional sensations which they but imperfectly understood, and which were inadequately impressed on their inner being, were often carried away by the impulses of passion and sensuality: still, in the enthusiasm which animated the nations for an object unintelligible to the senses, in the extraordinary efforts for an extraordinary end, we recognize the traces of man's illustrious origin. Lowest in the scale [of excellence], and false in the greatest degree to the primitive nobility of man, stands he, who, in the coldness of intellect, looks down upon those times in a spirit of affected compassion, proceeding not from the overpowering influence of *genuine reality* on the mind, but from the circumstance of his assuming *that* only to be real, which is, in truth, the very lowest degree of seeming, and thus regarding as a delusion what is here the *beautiful*, the labouring and the venturing for an object which exists, and is of value, for the heart alone."

The success of his preaching on this occasion had evidently an injurious effect upon Bernard's character: he persuaded others as well as himself that he was possessed of supernatural powers, and his great reputation

betrayed him into the weakness of displaying himself as a prophet. He was justly rebuked by the entire failure of the expedition; a melancholy result, which spread dismay among the nations of the West. The disappointed nobles reproached him as a false and incautious prophet; and he attributed the failure to the vices and mismanagement of the princes and knights, who in their lives proved themselves to be unworthy of being used as instruments of God's service.

But before the disappointment with respect to the crusade came upon Bernard, we find him actively engaged in suppressing the heresy of the Petrobrusians, of whom it is necessary to give a short account.

In the beginning of the 12th century Pierre de Bruys made his appearance in the south of France. This heretic was a man of decided character, determined to carry out his principles to their legitimate conclusions. Like some modern heretics, he denied that regeneration is the grace conferred by the Holy Ghost through the Sacrament of Baptism; but unlike them, having embraced an heretical opinion, he discarded the traditional practice of the Church, and rejected infant baptism. If infants are born in original sin they require regeneration; and if baptism be the instrument of regeneration, they ought to be baptized. But if baptism is not the instrument of regeneration, it is mere superstition to administer it to infants; unless there be, which there is not, a plain command in Scripture to baptize them. Pierre de Bruys, like a heretic, rejected the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; like an honest man he shrunk not from the consequence of his heresy, and denounced infant baptism. Nor were his errors confined to this question. Asserting that God was not more present in one place than another, he drew the conclusion that churches in general were unnecessary, and that all churches must therefore be pulled down; maintaining that God "taketh pleasure in the pious emotions of the heart alone, he drew the conclusion that He is neither to be invoked by loud

sounding voices, or conciliated by musical melodies, and that therefore "God is only mocked by church chanting." In his contempt for external religion he totally, but consistently, rejected the sacrament of the blessed Eucharist; and, denying the doctrine of a purgatory, he denied also the existence of a middle state. The result of his preaching was that his followers pulled down not only altars but churches also; and assembling on Good Friday brought together all the crosses they could find, and making a bonfire, cooked flesh, and invited all to eat. They scourged all the priests upon whom they could lay hands, and compelled the monks, in spite of their vows, to marry. Considering how identified in this age were the laws of each country with the canons of the Church, and that this movement was seditious as well as schismatical, it is astonishing to find that Pierre de Bruys continued to preach these doctrines with impunity for twenty years. He was at length seized by an infuriated mob and conducted to the scaffold, in the town of St Giles, in Languedoc. But his principles had taken root, and his party called Petrobrusians continued their violence under a leader more fanatical than himself, Henri by name. This man, who was both a demagogue and a fanatic, was mildly dealt with: nothing could have been more tolerant or judicious than the treatment he received from Hildebert, bishop of Mens, nothing more ungrateful and wicked than the conduct of Henri. Against the pious bishop he excited the populace, but Hildebert took no other measure against him than that of requiring him to leave his diocese. In 1134 the bishop of Arles brought him before a council at Pisa, where Henri retracted his errors, and was committed to the mild custody of St Bernard, at Clairvaux, from which he made his escape and resumed his schismatical proceedings about Toulouse and Albi. His influence here, and the mischief he did, is described by St Bernard, and the whole district must have been in a state of civil as well as ecclesiastical disturbance. At length pope Eugenius perceived the necessity of stronger measures,

and despatched a cardinal, accompanied by other bishops, to suppress the sect. The cardinal desiring to do so by moral influence rather than by force of arms, persuaded St Bernard to accompany him, knowing his power over the minds of men. He had concluded rightly. When the cardinal entered Albi he was met by every species of tumultuous insult, but when two days afterwards St Bernard made his appearance, his personal dignity, the meanness of his apparel, and his haggard countenance, made a very different impression: none presumed to treat him with derision, and he was received with universal reverence and rejoicing.

At Toulouse such was the effect of the simple eloquence of Bernard that, when at the conclusion of a discourse which had been listened to with sobs and tears, he invited the people to consider their ways and return to the unity of the Church; and in order to distinguish the penitents, desired that "those who received the word of salvation should hold up their right hands, in token of their adherence to the catholic Church," the whole congregation did so with eager alacrity.

Henri was captured shortly after and brought before the pope at the council of Rheims, but at the intercession of the archbishop of Rheims, his sentence was mitigated to imprisonment in a convent, where he soon after died.

The concluding years of St Bernard's life were devoted to the completion of his most important work, "The Book of Consideration," intended to remind his much loved pupil, Eugenius, of the duties devolving upon him in his high station. But Eugenius died before the work was completed. And St Bernard, after again becoming a benefactor to a large portion of his fellow-men, by being the mediator between the people of Mentz and some neighbouring princes, whom he reconciled with his usual skill, returned to Clairvaux, to prepare for his own departure. A short time before his death, when his pains had ceased to be alleviated by sleep, he dictated these words to a

friend: "Pray to the Saviour, who willeth not the death of a sinner, that He delay not my departure, and yet that He will be pleased to guard it. Support him who hath no merits of his own by your prayers, that the adversary of our salvation may not find any place open to his attacks."

Looking round upon his weeping brethren who no longer attempted to restrain the demonstration of their grief, the compassionate and tender hearted Bernard exclaimed: "I am in a strait betwixt two pains, a desire to depart and be with Christ which is far better; nevertheless, the love of my children urgeth me to remain here below." These were the last words of Bernard of Clairvaux. His life had been one of the strictest mortification, and it was brought to a close in the year 1153, at the age of sixty-three.

The character of this illustrious man will have been seen from the facts narrated above. To powerful genius, and perfect confidence in himself, by which he was led to regard himself as an exception to ordinary rules, he united a singleness of purpose and disinterestedness which made him all powerful. He armed the warriors of the crusade, but when they offered to make him their leader, he declined the honour, for he felt that under such a leader a host of warriors was not likely to prevail. He had at his option the highest honours in the Church, which were sometimes pressed upon him, but he declined them all, from the feeling that as a poor monk he could better promote the cause of true religion. He united to firmness of principle, and severity against vice, an enthusiastic appreciation of virtue, and the tenderness of a little child towards his friends. He acted upon principle, but his feelings were impulsive.

In one of his letters he thus unconsciously draws his own portrait. "*That* is a high degree of virtue, and as rare as it is high, that does great things without perceiving its own greatness; that is alone unconscious of the lustre of that holiness which dazzles all other eyes; and that,

while admired by the whole world, looks upon itself as vile, and only deserving of contempt. This is the greatest of all virtues,"—and it was his: for he who was highest in the judgment of the Christian world (so that "all affairs seemed to depend on his precepts and example, who was consulted as an oracle by high and low, and acknowledged as an arbiter both of truces and of peace; to whose prayers all orders of men desired to be recommended, since he was so generally admired and beloved, that he had the good wishes of the whole world, having gained more favour in his humility than Solomon in all his glory;") ever remained the lowest in his own, "uniting the force of a master with the docility of a child."

The editions of his works are numerous. The best edition is that of Mabillon, printed at Paris in 1690, in two volumes, folio. In Dupin may be found a particular account of his letters, 440 in number, and of his other works. His meditations have been translated by Dean Stanhope. His sermons have been the delight of the faithful in all ages. "They are," says Sixtus of Sienna, "at once so sweet and so ardent that it is as though his mouth were a fountain of honey, and his heart a whole furnace of love." The doctrines of St Bernard differ on some material points from that of the modern church of Rome: he did not hold those refinements and perversions of the doctrine of justification which the school divinity afterwards introduced, and the reformers denounced: he rejected the notion of supererogatory works: he did not hold the modern purgatorial doctrines of the church of Rome; neither did he admit the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. He maintained also the orthodox doctrine of the Real Presence, as distinguished from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. In his discourse on the Lord's Supper, he joins together *the outward form of the Sacrament*, and *the spiritual efficacy of it*, as the shell and the kernel, the sacred sign, and the thing signified; the one he takes out of the words of the Institution, and the other, out of Christ's sermon in the sixth of

St John. And in the same place explaining, that Sacraments are not *things absolute* in themselves without any relation, but mysteries, wherein by the gift of a visible sign, an invisible and divine grace with the Body and Blood of Christ is given, he saith, "that the visible sign is as a ring, which is given not for itself or absolutely, but to invest and give possession of an estate made over to one.".....Now, as no man can fancy that the ring is substantially changed into the inheritance, whether lands or houses, none also can say with truth, or without absurdity, that the bread and wine are substantially changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. But in his sermon on the Purification, he speaks yet more plainly: "The body of Christ in the Sacrament is the food of the soul, not of the belly, therefore we eat Him not corporally: but in the manner that Christ is meat, in the same manner we understand that He is eaten." Also in his sermon on St Martin, "To this day," saith he, "the same flesh is given to us, but spiritually, therefore not corporally." For the truth of things spiritually present is certain also.

Bishop Cosin remarks that Bellarmine confesseth with St Bernard, that "Christ in the Sacrament is not given to us carnally, but spiritually; and would to God he had rested here, and not outgone the holy Scriptures, and the doctrine of the fathers. For endeavouring, with pope Innocent III. and the council of Trent, to determine the manner of the presence and manducation of Christ's Body, with more nicety than was fitting, he thereby foolishly overthrew all that he had wisely said before, denied what he had affirmed, and opposed his own opinion. His fear was lest his adversaries should apply that word *spiritually*, not so much to express the manner of presence, as to exclude the very substance of the Body and Blood of Christ; "therefore," saith he, "upon that account it is not safe to use too much that of St Bernard, 'the Body of Christ is not corporally in the Sacrament,' without adding presently the above-mentioned explanation." How much

do we comply with human pride, and curiosity, which would seem to understand all things! Where is the danger? And what does he fear, as long as all they that believe the Gospel, own the true nature, and the real and substantial presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, using that explication of St Bernard, concerning the manner, which he himself, for the too great evidence of truth, durst not but admit? and why doth he own that the manner is spiritual, not carnal, and then require a carnal presence, as to the manner itself? As for us, we all openly profess with St Bernard, that the presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, is spiritual, and therefore true and real; and with the same Bernard, and all the ancients, we deny that the Body of Christ is carnally either present or given. The thing we willingly admit, but humbly and religiously forbear to enquire into the manner.

“ We believe a presence and union of Christ with our soul and body, which we know not how to call better than sacramental, that is, effected by eating; that while we eat and drink the consecrated bread and wine, we eat and drink therewithal the Body and Blood of Christ, not in a corporal manner, but some other way, incomprehensible, known only to God, which we call spiritual; for if with St Bernard and the fathers a man goes no further, we do not find fault with a general explication of the manner, but with the presumption and self-conceitedness of those who boldly and curiously inquire what is a spiritual presence, as presuming that they can understand the manner of acting of God’s Holy Spirit. We contrariwise confess with the fathers, that this manner of presence is unaccountable, and past finding out, not to be searched and pried into by reason, but believed by faith. And if it seems impossible that the flesh of Christ should descend, and come to be our food, through so great a distance; we must remember how much the power of the Holy Spirit exceeds our sense and our apprehensions, and how absurd it would be to undertake to measure His immensity by

our weakness and narrow capacity ; and so make our faith to conceive and believe what our reason cannot comprehend.

“ Yet our faith doth not cause or make that presence, but apprehends it as most truly and really effected by the word of Christ : and the faith whereby we are said to eat the flesh of Christ, is not that only whereby we believe that He died for our sins, (for this faith is required and supposed to precede the Sacramental Manducation,) but more properly, that whereby we believe those words of Christ, *This is My Body* ; which was St Austin’s meaning when he said, “ Why dost thou prepare thy stomach and thy teeth ? Believe and thou hast eaten.” For in this mystical eating by the wonderful power of the Holy Ghost, we do invisibly receive the substance of Christ’s Body and Blood, as much as if we should eat and drink both visibly.

“ The result of all this is, that the Body and Blood of Christ are sacramentally united to the bread and wine, so that Christ is truly given to the faithful ; and yet is not to be here considered with sense or worldly reason, but by faith, resting on the words of the Gospel. Now it is said, that the Body and Blood of Christ are joined to the bread and wine, because, that in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, the flesh is given together with the bread, and the blood together with the wine. All that remains is, that we should with faith and humility admire this high and sacred mystery, which our tongue cannot sufficiently explain, nor our heart conceive.”

The materials for this life have been chiefly drawn from Neander’s *Life and Times of St Bernard*. The rationalism and liberalism of Neander have been corrected in the few but very judicious notes of the accomplished translator, Matilda Wrench. The most ancient biography of St Bernard is in five books, and is to be found in the second volume of Mabillon. Use has also been made of *Maitland’s Dark Ages*. *Cosin on Transubstantiation*. *Mosheim*.

BERNARD, of Menthon, was born at Annecy, in Savoy, in 923. As archdeacon of Piedmont he was employed successfully in the conversion of the pagan inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, and replaced their temple of Jupiter on Mont-joux by a conventual establishment, of which the inmates are employed in assisting the traveller when in danger, and in rendering hospitality to pilgrims crossing the Alps on their way to Rome. He placed another such establishment near the Colonnade of Jupiter, so called from a series of upright stones placed on the snow to point out a safe track. These two religious establishments still remain among the most inhospitable passages of the Alps, and are known as the Great and Little St Bernard. The monastery on Great St Bernard is probably the highest habitation in Europe; and in both the monasteries the self-devoted monks train their dogs to trace out the weary and perishing traveller, to whom they extend all the hospitable attention his case may require. Bernard, having effected this great work, and having established a claim upon the gratitude of posterity, resumed his missionary labours until his death, which occurred at Novara, in the Milanese, on the 28th of May, 1008.—*Moreri. Biog. Univ.*

BERNARD, ANDREW, was born at Toulouse, and became an Augustine monk. He is chiefly distinguished for having been poet laureat to Henry VII and Henry VIII, kings of England, with a salary of ten marks, until he could obtain some equivalent appointment. He is also supposed to have been the royal historiographer and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He wrote several poems interesting chiefly to the antiquarian, which are to be found in manuscript in some of the public libraries.—*Warton's Hist. of Poetry.*

BERNARD, CLAUDE, called Father Bernard, or the poor priest, was born at Dijon, in 1588. After a youth of dissipation he grew disgusted with the world, and devoted

himself wholly to relieving and comforting the poor. He assisted them by his charities and exhortations to the end of his days, with incredible fervour, stooping and humbling himself to do the meanest offices for them. Father Bernard having persisted in refusing all the benefices offered him by the court, cardinal Richelieu told him one day, that he absolutely insisted on his asking him for something, and left him alone to consider of it. When the cardinal returned half an hour after, Bernard said, " Monseigneur, after much study, I have at last found out a favour to ask of you : when I attend any sufferers to the gibbet to assist them in their last moments, we are carried in a cart with so bad a bottom, that we are every moment in danger of falling to the ground. Be pleased, therefore, Monseigneur, to order that some better boards may be put to the cart." Cardinal Richelieu laughed heartily at this request, and gave orders directly that the cart should be thoroughly repaired. Father Bernard was ever ready to assist the unhappy by his good offices, for which purpose he one day presented a petition to a nobleman in place, who being of a very hasty temper, flew into a violent passion, and said a thousand injurious things of the person for whom the priest interested himself, but Bernard still persisted in his request; at which the nobleman was at last so irritated, that he gave him a box on the ear. Bernard immediately fell at his feet, and, presenting the other ear, said, " Give me a good blow on this also, my lord, and grant my petition." The nobleman was so affected by this apparent humility as to grant Bernard's request. He died March 23, 1641. The French clergy had such a veneration for him as often to solicit that he might be enrolled in the calendar of saints. In 1638 he founded the school of the Thirty-three, so called from the number of years our Saviour passed on earth, and a very excellent seminary. Immediately after his death appeared "*Le Testament du réverend pere Bernard, et ses pensées pieuses,*" Paris, 1641, 8vo, and "*Le Recit des choses arrivées à la mort du rev. pere*

Bernard," same year. The abbe Papillon also quotes a work entitled, "Entretiens pendant sa derniere maladie." His life was written by several authors, by Legauffre, Giry, de la Serre, Gerson, and Lampereur the jesuit. This last, which was published at Paris, 1708, 12mo, is too full of visions, revelations, and miracles, to afford any just idea of Bernard.—*Lavocat. Biog. Univ.*

BERNARD, EDWARD, was born in 1638, at Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire. From Merchant-Taylor's school, he went to St John's college, Oxford, of which society he became fellow, and proceeded B.D. in 1668. The same year he went to Leyden to consult the oriental manuscripts in that university, particularly one of Apollonius Pergæus on conic sections, which he transcribed with a view to publication, though the design was prevented. It was, however, printed by Dr Halley. In 1669 he was appointed deputy to sir Christopher Wren in the Savilian professorship of astronomy, and in 1673 he succeeded that great man on his resignation of the chair. About this time a plan was formed for publishing all the ancient mathematicians, and Mr Bernard being selected for the work, printed a part of Euclid as a specimen, but this design fell to the ground. He was equally unfortunate in his undertaking of a new edition of Josephus, but his collections for this purpose were made a proper use of by Havercamp. In 1676 he went to France as tutor to the dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, and in 1683 he visited Leyden again, to be present at the sale of Nicholas Heinsius's library. The year following he took his doctor's degree, and in 1691, on being presented to the rectory of Brightwell, in Berkshire, resigned his professorship. In 1692 he was employed in drawing up a catalogue of the MSS in Great Britain and Ireland, which was printed at Oxford in 1697, folio. Towards the close of his life he was much afflicted with the stone, notwithstanding which, such was his thirst for knowledge, that

he took a third voyage to Holland to attend the sale of Golius's library. Soon after his return he fell into a consumption, and died in 1696. His remains were interred in the chapel of St John's college, where his widow, to whom he had been married four years, erected a monument to his memory. Besides some papers in the Philosophical Transactions, he published—1. A Treatise of the ancient Weights and Measures, printed first in English, and afterwards in Latin, at Oxford. 2. Private Devotions, with an Explication of the Commandments, 12mo. 3. Orbis eruditi Literatura à caractere Samaritico deducta; a folio sheet, in copper plate. 4. Etymologia Britannica, 4to. 5. An edition of Guise's "Misnæ pars prima," 4to. 6. Chronologiæ Samaritanæ Synopsis. 7. Annotationes in Epistolam S. Barnabæ, 8vo. 8. Short Notes upon Cotelerius's edition of the Fathers. 9. Veterum Testimonia de Versione, lxxii. Interpretum, 8vo. His library was sold by auction after his death, except a portion purchased for the Bodleian collection.—*Biog. Brit.*

BERNARD, JAMES, was born at Nions, in Dauphiné in 1658, and was educated at Geneva. At the age of twenty-one he was chosen minister of Venterol, in Dauphiné, from whence he removed to Vinsobres in the same province; but having preached in places interdicted by the king, he retired to Geneva, next to Lausanne, and afterwards to Holland, where he was appointed one of the ministers of Ganda. He obtained leave, however, to fix his residence at the Hague, where he taught mathematics and philosophy, and commenced a political journal on the state of Europe. In 1692 he began his "Lettres Historiques," upon the same plan; and he also continued the Bibliothèque Universelle of his friend and relation, Le Clerc. In 1669 he published Actes et Negociations de la Paix de Ryswic," 4 vols. 12mo. The next year appeared a general collection of Treaties of Peace, in 4 vols. folio, but he did not put his name to either of these works. He avowed,

however, his continuation of Bayle's "Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres," which he began in 1698, and carried on to the year 1710. The reputation which he had acquired induced the Walloon church of Leyden to elect him for their minister, but the appointment was lost by the interference of king William, who disliked his republican politics. On the death of that monarch he succeeded in obtaining the appointment, and was also chosen professor of philosophy and mathematics in that university. In 1716 he published a supplement to Moreri's dictionary. He died in 1718. Besides the above works he published—1. *Le Theatre des etats du duc de Savoie, traduit du Latin de Bleau*, 2 vols. folio. 2. *Traité de la Repentance tardive*, 12mo. 3. *De l'excellence de la religion Chretienne*, 2 vols. 8vo. A translation of this work into English was published in 1793, 8vo, with the life of the author, and notes.—*Moreri*.

BERNARD, NICHOLAS. The place and time of his birth is not stated, but he was educated at Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree. He was matriculated at Oxford, in 1628, and being chaplain to archbishop Usher, obtained a doctor's degree at Trinity college, Dublin. Through the archbishop's interest he was made dean of Ardagh. In 1642 he returned to England, and was presented to the rectory of Whitchurch, in Shropshire. Having complied with the ruling powers, and become an apostate from his religion, he was made chaplain to Cromwell, and preacher to the society of Gray's Inn. On the restoration of Charles II, his easy religion enabled him to conform, and to retain his rich living. Having no inclination to run the risk of martyrdom, he did not return to his deanery in Ireland: Whitchurch was indeed the more lucrative appointment. He died in 1661. His works are—1. *The penitent Death of a woeful Sinner, or the penitent Death of John Atherton, bishop of Waterford, with a sermon on the same*, 8vo. 2. *Proceedings of the Siege of Drogheda*, 4to. 3. *A Dialogue between Paul and Agrippa*, 4to. 4. *A Farewell*

Sermon preached at Drogheda, 8vo. 5. The Life and Death of archbishop Usher, 8vo. 6. The judgment of the late archbishop of Armagh, on the extent of Christ's Death; secondly, of the Sabbath, &c. 8vo. 7. A Defence of this last work against Dr Heylin. 8. Devotions of the ancient Church, 8vo. 9. Clavi Trabales, or nails fastened by some great masters of assemblies, on the King's Supremacy, &c. 4to.—*Biog. Brit.*

BERNARD, JOHN, was born at Caistor, in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Queen's college, Cambridge, but removed soon afterwards to Oxford, where, by the parliamentary visitors, he was made fellow of Lincoln college in 1648. He married Letice, daughter of the celebrated Peter Heylin, but his connection with that loyal and religious family did not lead him to change his principles while the rebels were in power. His "Censura Cleri, or Against scandalous Ministers, not fit to be restored to the churches livings in point of Prudence, Piety, and Fame," was published in 1659, and was aimed as a blow against those unfortunate incumbents who, in 1654, had been ejected from their livings by Cromwell's triers. Bernard had valuable preferment in Lincolnshire, which he retained at the restoration by conforming. He obtained also a prebend in Lincoln cathedral. He died in 1683. He published two works in vindication of Peter Heylin, his father-in-law. The first of these is entitled, *Theologo-Historicus*; or the true Life of the most Rev Divine, and excellent Historian, Peter Heylin, D.D., Sub-Dean of Westminster, Lond. 1683, 8vo. It is professedly an answer to a life, treated as defective and calumnious, of that eminent man, by Vernon. Bernard's other vindication is printed with this, and is entitled, *An Answer to Mr Baxter's false accusations of Dr Heylin.*—*Wood's Athenæ.*

BERNARDIN OF SIENA, so called because his family, named Albizeschi, came from that city, was born at Massa

Carrara, where his father was then chief magistrate, September 8, 1380. Having lost his mother when he was three, and his father when he was seven years old, he was educated by one of his aunts till he was thirteen years of age, and then his relatives sent for him to Siena, where he studied grammar under Onuphrius, and philosophy under John of Spoletta. Some time after he entered into the confraternity of the disciplinators of the hospital of the Scala in Siena; there he assisted with much fervour and zeal those who were infected with the plague, and practised great austerities. In the year 1405, he made profession of the rule of St Francis, in the monastery of the Observantines of Columbarius, which was near to Siena. Being ordained priest, he addicted himself to preaching, and founded in Italy many new monasteries of the Observantines, and reformed those that were ancient. He was afterwards sent to Jerusalem, and made guardian of the Holy Land; and having returned from thence, he continued to preach in Italy; and to stir up the devotion of the people towards our Lord, he had a custom of shewing the name of Jesus, painted in a circle surrounded with the sun, and made a great many such pictures, which sold very well. His enemies accused him of affirming in his sermons many false things, and delated him to pope Martin the fifth, who cited him to appear before himself, and caused his works to be examined: but finding nothing in them worthy of condemnation, the pope having heard his defence, absolved him, and sent him back, with permission to continue his preaching. The cities of Siena, Ferrara, and Urbin, desired pope Eugenius the IVth to make him their bishop, but he refused the bishopric, notwithstanding the importunity of this pope in urging it upon him: he would only accept of the title of vicar-general of the friars of the Observantines for all Italy; and there he reformed or founded anew nearly three hundred monasteries. He died, at last, in the city of Aquila, in

Abruzzo, May the 20th, 1444. He was canonized by Nicolas V, in 1450.

His works have been printed at Venice, in 1591, by the care of Rodulphus, bishop of Sinigaglia; and at Paris, in 1636, by the care of Peter de la Haye, in two volumes in folio.—*Dupin*.

BERRIMAN, WILLIAM, was born September 24th, 1688, and was the son of Mr John Berriman, apothecary, in Bishopsgate-street, and the grandson of the Rev Mr Berriman, rector of Bedington, in Surry. He had his primary education at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and at Merchant-Taylor's school. At seventeen years of age he was entered as a commoner at Oriel college, in Oxford, where he took his several degrees, when of proper standing. He was curate and lecturer of Allhallows, in Thames-street, and lecturer of St Michael's, Queenhithe. He was appointed domestic chaplain to Dr Robinson, bishop of London, in 1720, and was soon after collated by him to the living of St Andrews, Undershaft.

In the year 1727 he was elected fellow of Eton college, by the interest of Dr Godolphin, the provost, without any solicitation. Here he chiefly resided in the summer, and in his parsonage house in the winter, where he died February 5th, 1749-50, in the sixty-second year of his age; leaving behind him a high character for learning, practical good sense, integrity, and strict regard for his professional obligations of every kind.

His writings are, a seasonable Review of Mr Whilon's Account of primitive Doxologies, printed in the year 1719. An historical account of the Trinitarian Controversy, in eight sermons at lady Moyer's lecture, 1715. A defence of some passages in the historical account, 1731. Brief Remarks on Mr Chandler's Introduction to the History of the Inquisition, 1733. A Review of the Remarks. Sermons at Boyle's lectures, in 2 vols, 8vo, 1733.

Besides these he published many occasional sermons in

his life time, and after his death several others were published by his brother John Berriman, M.A. from his original MSS, under the title of Christian Doctrines and Duties explained and recommended.—*Gen. Biog. Dict.*

BERTRAM, THE PRIEST. This is the ordinary designation of an author who took a distinguished part in the controversy concerning the Eucharist in the ninth century, when the doctrine of transubstantiation was first introduced into the Church. His proper name was Ratramn, which seems to have been converted into Bertram by the affix of *BE*, the first syllable of *Beatus*, frequently placed before names of persons esteemed for their piety and learning. *Be-Ratram*, by the carelessness of transcribers, came in process of time to be written *Bertram*.

He was in all probability a native of France, and of the province of Picardy, where he became a monk in the early part of the ninth century. He was educated in the Benedictine monastery of Corbey, in the diocese of Amiens. In this cloister he became a proficient in the study of divinity, and, like most divines of the age, was deeply read in the Scriptures. He was here ordained priest, and after the death of Baro he was, as is generally supposed, promoted to the government of the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, by Charles the Bald.

That he was in great esteem in his own age is evident from the fact that he was consulted by Charles the Bald upon points of such moment as the predestination controversy, and the controversy relating to Christ's presence in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The first of his writings extant is that of the Manner of Christ's Birth, which was written before 844. His two Books on Predestination were written, as the president Mauguin conjectures, in 850. In 853 he wrote a book to justify the use of an old hymn, which Hincmar of Rheims had commanded to be altered, directing that instead of *Te, Trina Deitas*, should be used the words, *Te, Summa Deitas*, imagining the former expression to make

three Gods : Ratramn asserted the expression to be orthodox by the authority of St Hilary and St Augustine. This work is lost. He also wrote a book, *de Anima*, at the instance of Odo, sometime abbot of Corbey and bishop of Beauvais, against a monk of the same convent, who taught that all men had but one and the same soul. This book is extant in manuscript in the library of Bennet college, Cambridge, in that of Salisbury cathedral, and in that of St Eligius, at Noyon, in France, but not printed.

About the year 868, pope Nicolas I, having desired Hincmar and the French bishops to consider and answer the objections of the Greeks against the Latin church and Hincmar, having employed Odo, bishop of Beauvais, therein, it is probable he recommended Ratramn to the bishops, as a man fit to undertake such a work, and accordingly he wrote four books on that occasion, published by Dacherius.

There is also among the MSS in the Leipsic library, an epistle concerning the Cynocephali, whether they be truly men and of Adam's seed, or brute creatures? What moved him to discuss this question, or how he hath determined it, is not known. The epistle is directed to one Rimbart, a presbyter, the same, probably, who succeeded Anscharius in the see of Breme, and wrote his life.

His great work, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, concerning the Body and Blood of our Lord, was most probably written in the year 850. As this work excited extraordinary attention about the time of the reformation, the reader shall be supplied with extracts from it. It is one of those works which proves, to the infinite perplexity of the papists, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a novelty in the ninth century, and that it was not introduced into the Church without the opposition of the more orthodox divines.

The mode of the real presence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is left undefined in Holy Scripture. It is

a subject on which there is a natural desire, however, that something positive should be asserted. What are we precisely to believe on this point? is a question which will occur to the mind. The Scriptures give no clear answer, the primitive church gives no clear answer, the church of England gives no clear answer. All that is declared is, that "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." The mode of the presence is not stated. Before the ninth century attempts had been made to define the mode of this mystery. But Charlemagne having, in an epistle to Alcuin, expressed his belief that the sacramental elements are figures of Christ's Body and Blood, the question, though stated, was not agitated among polemics while he swayed the sceptre. The church of England, it is well known, believed in the spiritual presence only, at the distance of more than two centuries from the death of Charlemagne. In the earlier part of the ninth century, however, inquisitive minds on the continent were fixed upon this subject, in consequence of a work offered to the world by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey. In this he asserted that the Lord's Body, received in the eucharistic sacrifice, is the same Body that was born of the Virgin; although even he did not proceed to the length of asserting that the elements were transubstantiated, but rather taught that they were united with the Incarnate Deity. His doctrine was no sooner published, than it met with violent opposition. Charles the Bald, anxious to form a sound opinion upon the controversy which Radbert had excited, applied, as we have before stated, to Ratramn: and from his most valuable treatise we learn, not only that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not then established, but also that then, as now, in the church of England, there existed no doctrine as to the mode of Christ's presence in the Holy Sacrament: "while some of the faithful," observes Ratramn, "say concerning the Body and Blood of Christ, which is daily celebrated in the Church, that there is no veil nor figure,

but that the very thing itself is openly and really exhibited; and others of them affirm, that these things, (viz. the Body and Blood of Christ,) are present in a mystery or figure; that it is one thing that appears to our bodily eyes, and another thing that our faith beholds; it is plain, there is no small difference in judgment among them: and whereas the Apostle writes to the faithful, that they should all think and speak the same thing, and that there should be no schism among them; there is no small division and schism among those who believe and speak differently concerning the mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ.

In noticing the doctrine he first defines what a Figure is, and what the Truth.

“A figure is a certain covert manner of expression, which exhibits what it intends under certain veils. For example; we call THE WORD bread, as in the Lord’s Prayer, we beg that God would give us our daily bread: or as Christ in the gospel speaks, I am the living bread that came down from heaven. Or when he calls Himself a vine, and His disciples branches, I am the true vine, and ye are the branches. In all these instances, one thing is said and another thing is understood.

“The truth is the representation of the very thing itself, not veiled with any shadow or figure, but expressed according to the pure and naked (or to speak more plainly yet) natural signification of the words. As when we say that Christ was born of a Virgin, suffered, was crucified, dead and buried: here is nothing shadowed out under the coverture of figures, but the very truth of the thing is expressed, according to the natural signification of the words; nor is any thing here understood but what is said. But in the fore-mentioned instances it is not so. For in substance, neither is Christ bread, or a vine, nor the apostles branches. These are figures, but in the other the plain and naked truth is related.

“Now let us return to the subject which hath occasioned the saying of all this, viz. the Body and Blood of Christ.

If there be no figure in that mystery, it is not properly called a mystery; for that cannot be said to be a mystery, which hath nothing secret, nothing remote from our bodily senses, nothing covered under any veil. But as for that bread, which by the ministry of the priest, is made Christ's body, it sheweth one thing outwardly to our senses, and inwardly proclaims quite another thing to the minds of the faithful. That which outwardly appears is bread, as it was before in form, colour, and taste: but inwardly there is quite another thing presented to us, and that much more precious and excellent, because it is heavenly and divine: that is, Christ's Body is exhibited which is beheld, received, and eaten, not by our carnal senses, but by the sight of the believing soul.

“Likewise the wine, which by the priest's consecration, is made the Sacrament of Christ's Blood, appears one thing outwardly, and inwardly contains another: for what doth outwardly appear but the substance of wine? Taste it, there is the relish of wine; smell it, there is the scent of wine; behold it, there is the colour of wine. But if you consider it inwardly, then it is not the liquor of wine, but the liquor of Christ's Blood, which is tasted, seen, and smelt. Since these things are undeniable, it is evident, that the bread and wine are figuratively the Body and Blood of Christ: as to outward appearance, there is neither the likeness of flesh to be seen in that bread, nor the liquor of blood in that wine, and yet after the mystical consecration, they are no longer called bread and wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ.”

Having produced some additional arguments, he says further, “Let us consider the font of Holy Baptism, which is not undeservedly styled the fountain of life, because it regenerates those who descend into it, to the newness of a better life; and makes those who were dead in sins, alive unto righteousness. Is it the visible element of water which hath this efficacy? Verily, unless it had obtained a sanctifying virtue, it could by no means wash away the stain of our sins: and if it had not a quickening power, it

could not at all give life to the dead. The dead I mean not as to their bodies, but to their souls. Yet if in that fountain you consider nothing but what the bodily sense beholdeth, you see only a fluid element of a corruptible nature, and capable of washing the body only. But the power of the Holy Ghost, came upon it by the priests consecration, and it obtained thereby an efficacy to wash not the bodies only, but also the souls of men ; and by a spiritual virtue, to take away their spiritual filth.

“Behold, how in one and the same element, are seen two things contrary to each other ; a thing corruptible, giving incorruption ; and a thing without life, giving life. It is manifest then, that in the font, there is both somewhat, which the bodily sense perceiveth, which is therefore mutable and corruptible ; and somewhat which the eye of faith only beholds, and therefore is neither corruptible nor mortal. If you enquire what washes the outside, it is the element ; but if you consider what purgeth the inside, it is a quickening power, a sanctifying power, a power conferring immortality. So then in its own nature, it is a corruptible liquor, but in the mystery, it is a healing power.

“Thus also the Body and Blood of Christ, considered as to the outside only, is a creature subject to change and corruption. But if you ponder the efficacy of the mystery, it is life conferring immortality, on such as partake thereof. Therefore they are not the same things which are seen, and which are believed. For the things seen, feed a corruptible body, being corruptible themselves ; but those which are believed, feed immortal souls, being themselves immortal.”

The doctrine is then enforced by other instances of figurative language occurring in Scripture, such as no man ever dreamt of expounding literally. In explanation of John, vi. 53, he says, “We ought to consider how those words of our Saviour are to be understood, wherein he saith, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have not life in you. For he doth

not say, that His flesh which hung on the cross, should be cut in pieces, and eaten by His disciples; or that His blood, which He was to shed for the redemption of the world, should be given His disciples to drink: for it had been a crime for His disciples to have eaten His flesh, and drunk His blood, in the sense that the unbelieving Jews then understood Him.

“Wherefore, in the following words He saith to His disciples, who did not disbelieve that saying of Christ, though they did not yet penetrate the true meaning of it. ‘Doth this offend you? What if ye shall see the Son of Man ascending up where He was before?’ As though He should say, ‘Think not that you must eat my flesh and drink my blood corporally, divided into small pieces: for, when after my resurrection, you shall see me ascend into the heavens with my body entire, and all my blood, then you shall understand that the faithful must eat my flesh, not in the manner which these unbelievers imagine; but that indeed believers must receive it, bread and wine being mystically turned into the substance of my body and blood.

“And after, It is the Spirit, saith He, that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. He saith, the flesh profiteth nothing, taken as those infidels understood Him, but otherwise it giveth life, as it is taken mystically by the faithful. And why so? He himself shews, when He saith, It is the Spirit that quickeneth: therefore in this mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ, there is a spiritual operation, which giveth life; without which operation the mysteries profit nothing; because they may indeed feed the body, but cannot feed the soul.”

He then proceeds to shew that the fathers of the Church before him understood the doctrine in the same sense: summing up his argument thus, “What do we learn hence, but that the Body and Blood of Christ are therefore called mysteries, because they contain a secret and hidden dispensation? That is, it is one thing which they outwardly make shew of, and another thing, which they operate inwardly and invisibly.

“And for this reason they are called Sacraments, because, under the covert of bodily things, a divine power doth secretly dispense salvation (or grace) to them that faithfully receive them.

“By all that hath been hitherto said, it appears, that the Body and Blood of Christ, which are received by the mouths of the faithful in the Church, are figures in respect of their visible nature; but in respect of the invisible substance, that is, the power of the word of God, they are truly Christ's Body and Blood. Wherefore as they are visible creatures, they feed the body; but as they have the virtue of a more powerful substance, they do both feed and sanctify the souls of the faithful.”

He then proceeds to the second question, “Whether that very Body which was born of Mary, which suffered, was dead and buried, and which sits at the right hand of the Father, be the same which is daily received in the church by the mouths of the faithful in the sacramental mysteries:” and here too he refers to the fathers and ancient liturgies, giving an answer on their authority, to this question in the negative.

“Your wisdom, most illustrious prince, may observe how both by testimonies out of the Holy Scriptures, and the fathers, it is most evidently demonstrated, that the bread, which is called the Body of Christ, and the cup, which is called the Blood of Christ, is a figure, because it is a mystery; and that there is a vast difference between that which is His Body mystically, and that Body which suffered, was buried, and rose again: for this was our Saviour's proper Body: nor is there any figure or signification in it; but it is the very thing itself. And the faithful desire the vision of Him, because He is our Head; and when we shall see Him, our desire will be satisfied; for He and the Father are one; not in respect of our Saviour's Body, but forasmuch as the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth in the Man Christ.

“But in that Body which is celebrated in a mystery, there is a figure, not only of the proper Body of Christ.

but also of the people which believe in Christ: for it is a figure representing both bodies; to wit, that of Christ, in which He died, and rose again, and that of the people which are regenerated, and raised from the dead (by baptism). into Christ.

“And let me add, that the bread and cup, which are called, and are the Body and Blood of Christ, represent the memory of the Lord’s passion or death; as Himself teacheth us in the gospel, saying, ‘This do in remembrance of Me.’ Which St Paul the apostle expounding, saith, ‘As oft as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shew forth the Lord’s death till he come.’

“We are here taught both by our Saviour, and also by St Paul the apostle, that the bread and cup which are placed upon the altar, are set there for a figure, or in remembrance of the Lord’s death; that what was really done long since, may be called to our present remembrance, that having His passion in our mind, we may be made partakers of that divine gift, whereby we are saved from death: knowing well, that when we shall come to the vision of Christ, we shall need no such instruments to admonish us, what His infinite goodness was pleased to suffer for our sakes; for when we shall see Him face to face, we shall, not by the outward admonition of temporal things, but by the contemplation of the very thing itself, understand how much we are obliged to give thanks to the Author of our salvation.

“But in what I say, I would not have it thought, that the Lord’s Body and Blood is not received by the faithful in the sacramental mysteries; for faith receives not that which the eye beholds, but what itself believes. It is spiritual meat, and spiritual drink, spiritually feeding the soul, and affording a life of eternal satisfaction; as our Saviour Himself, commending this mystery, speaks: ‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.’”

No apology is necessary for having entered into an analysis of this treatise, which was very serviceable to our

reformers, when they renounced the doctrine of transubstantiation. "This Bertram," says bishop Ridley, "first pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers on this matter."

The sentiments of Ratramn were in accordance with those of almost all among his contemporaries whose names are celebrated: Rabanus Maurus, the bishop of Mentz; Agobard, archbishop of Lyons; Claudius, bishop of Turin; the illustrious John Scot, usually designated Erigena; Druthmar, and several other authors of high repute in their day, who lent their aid to stay the progress of that unscriptural fancy, by which the superstitious were labouring to embarrass the Eucharistic question. For the further history of this controversy the reader is referred to the articles on Berengarius and Lanfranc.

Ratramn died about the year 870.—*Ratramni Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, with the treatises prefixed. Ridley's Life of Ridley. Soames' History of Reformation.*

BERTRAMN, CORNELIUS BONAVENTURE, professor of Hebrew at Geneva and Lausanne, was born at Thouars, in Poitou, in 1531, and died at Lausanne in 1594. He published—1. A Dissertation on the Republic of the Hebrews. 2. A Revision of the French Bible of Geneva. 3. Pagnini's Thesaurus Linguae Sanctæ. 4. A Parallel of the Hebrew and Syriac Languages. 5. Lucubrationes Frankendalenses.—*Moreri.*

BERULLE, PETER DE, was born at the chateau de Serilli, near Troyes, in Champagne, on the 4th of February, 1575, and was early distinguished for his piety and learning. At the conference of Fontainbleau, he argued with the protestants of France, and obtained the approbation of friends and foes, equally for his learning, his winning address, and his gentle deportment. He was sent into Spain in 1603, for the purpose of inducing some of the

Carmelites to settle in Paris ; and with considerable difficulty, after encountering much opposition, he succeeded in establishing that order in France. But he is chiefly distinguished for having founded, in 1613, the congregation of the oratory in France ; an order which had been recently established in Italy by Philip Neri. He was solicited to undertake this work by Francis de Sales, and had to overcome the opposition of the jesuits. He had made a vow in early life not to accept any ecclesiastical dignity, and he resisted the offer of some wealthy bishoprics made to him by Henry IV. and Louis XIII. Upon Louis's threatening to apply to the pope to compel him to break his vow, and to accept the bishopric of Leon, Berulle replied, that "if the king continued to press him he should be obliged to quit the kingdom." But one of the abominations of popery is the light regard which is paid to vows and oaths. The conduct of Louis, just alluded to, is a proof of this ; and he was correct in supposing that the pope would at his solicitation release Berulle from his vow, for this Urban VIII, in 1627, did, when he created him a cardinal, and caused him to accept two abbacies to support his dignity. The appointment justly gave offence to the French bishops ; and Berulle ought to have died rather than have submitted to the indignity of the cardinalate. Berulle was employed in soliciting at Rome the dispensation under which Henrietta Maria was married to Charles I. He undertook the office with a bold, independent spirit, and threw the blame of the schism upon the want of a proper conciliating spirit on the part of Rome towards Henry VIII. The court of Rome took the hint ; although the difficulty could not have been great to obtain a dispensation, on political grounds then existing, from a court and church so venal and so open to worldly influences as that of Rome. Much is said against mixed marriages by Romish divines, but the doctrine is only enforced against the poor. The royal, the noble, and the wealthy, can do as they will, after submitting to the farce of obtain-

ing a dispensation. Berulle accompanied Henrietta Maria to England, and gained universal respect by his discretion and the amiability of his manners. He died suddenly, October 2nd, 1629, aged fifty-five, while celebrating the Holy Eucharist.

His works, chiefly controversial, were printed in two vols. folio, in 1644, and they were reprinted in one volume in 1647.—*Cerisi. Doni d'Attici. Carraccioli.*

BERYLLUS, bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, about the year 244, was regarded with respect and esteem by his contemporaries until he asserted a doctrine contrary to the Catholic faith, with reference to our Blessed Lord and Saviour. According to Eusebius he erred, “in daring to affirm that our Lord and Saviour, before His coming among men, had no proper different subsistence; neither any Godhead of His own, but only the Deity of the Father residing in Him.” In explanation, Valesius, in his note upon the passage, shews that Beryllus erred in that he believed Christ had no proper personality before His Incarnation; but he was orthodox in that he held that Christ had not a Godhead proper to Himself, only the Godhead of the Father residing in Him, *for the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal*: otherwise there would be three Gods, not one God: therefore if this were Beryllus's opinion he may be excused; but he erred on this head in that he asserted that the Son by Himself is not properly God, but has only a derivative divinity from the Father. For if he asserted that the Son subsisted not personally before His Incarnation, it follows that he deprived Him of His divinity.”

Many disputes and conferences having been held by the bishops against Beryllus without effect, Origen was sent for. Origen at first entered into a friendly discourse with Beryllus to ascertain what his opinions really were, and when he discovered them he reprehended him for his

want of orthodoxy. Origen having at length convinced the bishop of his error, "took him as it were by the hand," as Eusebius says, "and set him in the way of true doctrine, and reinstated him in his former sound opinion." In the time of Eusebius the record of this conference was extant. Beryllus, besides some epistles to Origen, thanking him for his conversion, left behind him what Eusebius styles "several monuments of an elegant genius," by which Valesius thinks that he means hymns and poems. None of his works have come down to us.—*Eusebius, with Valesius's Notes.*

BESSARION, JOHN, was born at Trebisonde, either in 1389 or in 1395. He was educated under the philosopher Gemislius Pletho, who had the honour of introducing the study of Plato among the scholars of the West. He entered a monastery in the Peloponesus, and became a monk of the order of St Basil. In this monastery he remained for twenty-one years, employed in intellectual pursuits, and became one of the most distinguished scholars of the age. In the meantime his country was threatened with destruction, and the Byzantine throne was evidently about to fall a prey to Turkish ambition. Under these circumstances John Palæologus the emperor perceived that his chief reliance under God, rested on the assistance he might obtain from the European provinces, whose sympathy was hopeless without concessions to the Latin Church. He accordingly expressed a disposition for such; and it so happened that pope Eugenius IV was in such circumstances as to render it equally desirable for him to enter into a negociation with the Greeks.

A council had been assembled at Basil, in Switzerland, in the year 1431. It was convened by Martin V, and his successor Eugenius IV. The object which the fathers here assembled set before them, and pursued with eagerness, was the reform of the many abuses in the Church, which had been the fertile subject of complaint for many years. The avarice and sensual vices of successive popes

had been a scandal to the Church for many years, and the council of Basil conferred anew the decrees of Constance, concerning the superiority of a general council over the bishop of Rome, its power to punish him if refractory, and its freedom from being dissolved by him. The resolution of the synod was supported by the emperor of Germany, the king of France, and the duke of Milan. But the regulations referred to, and others, which restored the Church to her liberty, and restrained the tyrannical and most injurious usurpation of the Roman pontiff, not unnaturally excited the wrath of Eugenius, and a warm and violent contest ensued between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear before them at Basil on the 26th day of June, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct ; but the pontiff, instead of complying with the summons, issued a decree by which he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. Although this decree was treated with the utmost contempt by the council, who pronounced sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff for having refused to obey their order ; yet in 1438 Eugenius opened in person the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara.

Thus were there two parties in the West anxious to enter into a treaty with the Byzantine emperor and the Greek church, in order to strengthen their hands. The council of Basil had invited the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople to unite with them ; they agreed to pay his travelling expenses ; to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats for the accommodation of the Greek clergy ; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers, and some galleys for the protection of Constantinople. But Eugenius was sensible of the importance of the emperor of the Greeks. He solicited his friendship ; and to transport the Byzantine prince to Ferrara, he despatched nine galleys, with the persuasive argument of fifteen thousand ducats and the most splendid promises. In an evil hour John Palæologus

accepted the invitation of the pope: had he adhered to the council of Basil it is probable that the papal authority would, if not overthrown, have been circumscribed within just limits, and the Eastern and Western Churches might have been once again united. But to Ferrara the Greek emperor repaired with the aged patriarch Joseph, and a various retinue of bishops and ministers, of monks and philosophers: among whom was Bessarion, now dignified with the title of archbishop of Nice.

When they arrived at Ferrara the etiquette necessary to be observed by the visitors and the visited first engrossed their attention. The pride of the pope yielded to sound policy, and, dispensing with the honours usually shewn him on such occasions, he received Palæologus and his patriarch with a salutation of union and charity, although the Greek ecclesiastics refused a compliance with the ceremony of kissing the pope's foot. The chief points to be got over were the doctrine of purgatory, the papal supremacy, and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, all which the Greeks denied. In the midst of the discussions a fever broke out at Ferrara, and the council was removed to Florence, an arrangement to which the Greek patriarch and bishops did not consent without considerable hesitation. At Florence the discussions were resumed. The Romanists were supported by the eloquence of cardinal Julian, while Bessarion and Mark of Ephesus headed the Greeks. If Bessarion was surpassed by Mark in powers of reasoning, his skill and eloquence as a disputant made him more than a match for the most powerful advocates on the papal side. But the champion of the Eastern church was not inaccessible to flattery and bribes, and he became an apostate and a papist. He was immediately employed by the pope to corrupt others; and by rewards, persuasions, threats, and promises, eighteen of the Eastern bishops were induced to sign the decree made in the tenth session, declaring that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son: that the Sacrament is validly consecrated in unleavened as well as in

leavened bread : that there is a purgatory : and that the Roman pontiff is primate and head of the whole Church. The patriarch of Constantinople, (who died at the council,) Mark of Ephesus, the patriarch of Heraclea, and Athanasius, remained uncorrupted.

The Greek deputies returned to Constantinople, and were received there with one burst of indignation.

The Greek church indignantly rejected all that had been done, and in a council at Constantinople, held, according to their own account, a year and a half after the termination of that of Florence, all the Florentine proceedings were declared null and void, and the synod was condemned. The patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory, who had succeeded Joseph, and was inclined to the Latins, was deposed, and Athanasius chosen in his stead. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and the chiefs of the old patriarchates of Ephesus, Heraclea, and Cæsarea, were all present and concerned in these transactions. The subscribing ecclesiastics instead of justifying, deplored their weakness : "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root," was the answer to the reproachful question, what had become of the Italian synod.

It may be here remarked, that although the synod of Florence is considered as œcumenical by ultra-montane papists, it was rejected not only by the Eastern church, but also by many of the Western churches. Cardinal de Lorraine declared in the synod of Trent, 1563, that the university of Paris did not hold the synod of Florence as œcumenical. Launoi says, that the Gallican church does not number it among general councils.

We may well suppose that Bessarion was in no enviable predicament when he returned to his native land : he was branded as a bastard Greek, false to his country and his church, and was generally abhorred as an apostate.

He fled from disgrace in his own country to enjoy the rewards of his apostacy in Italy. Already, in 1439, the grateful Eugenius had made him a cardinal, and, under Nicholas V, he became archbishop of Siponto and cardinal bishop. Pius II, in 1463, mocked him with the title of patriarch of Constantinople; an insult to the Greek church, which only exasperated them yet more against Bessarion. On the death of Nicholas V, and again on the death of Paul II, Bessarion had a fair chance of being himself elected to the papal throne.

His learning, and his patronage of learned men, added to the simplicity of his habits, in spite of wealth and high station, rendered him extremely popular. His house was the resort of men of genius, and when he appeared abroad his train was composed of the most distinguished scholars of the age. He was employed in some embassies of a difficult and delicate kind, but it would seem that his skill as a politician was not so great, as his genius in literature. On his return from an embassy to France, in which he not only failed, but was subjected, it is said, to the grossest personal indignities from the French king, he was taken ill at Ravenna, where he died on the 19th of November, 1472. His funeral, which took place at Rome, was attended by the pope, an honour not hitherto paid to the memory of any cardinal. His praises were celebrated in Latin and Greek verse, and his memory has been respected in the annals of literature as one of the restorers of classical learning. He had procured manuscripts, regardless of expense, from all parts of Greece, and having thus formed a noble library, he bequeathed it to the senate of Venice. His most celebrated works were his Latin translations of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, together with a treatise, *Contra Calumniatorem Platonis*, and his *Orationes de gravissimis Periculis, quæ rei-publicæ Christianæ a Turcis jam tum impendere providebat*. These two last works are very scarce and much valued by collectors. Although he left many theological works, very few of them have been printed. In a collection

of *Opuscula Theologica*, published at Rome in 1634, four of his treatises are to be found, and another, *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, was published in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at Paris.—*Hodius de Græcis illustribus. Cave. Fabricius. Perceval Roman Schism. Palmer on the Church. Gibbon. Mosheim.*

BEVERIDGE, WILLIAM, was born in the year 1636-7, at Barrow upon Soar, near Loughborough, in Leicestershire. Having received his primary education, first under his father, and afterwards at Okeham school, in the county of Rutland, he was, in 1653, admitted as a sizar at St John's college, Cambridge. Here his attention was directed not only to classical pursuits, but to the study also of the oriental languages; a study which he recommended in a Latin treatise, and still more effectually by the publication of a Syriac grammar, composed when he was only eighteen years of age, and published two years after. These publications were of much service in their day, and were both of them reprinted in 1664. His character at college, however, was established, not only for proficiency as a scholar, but for the depth of his piety, and the integrity of his life. What his early piety was may be seen from a juvenile work published after his death, and even now in high repute, his "*Private Thoughts.*" This work was published in 1709, and has often been reprinted. It displays the piety of his disposition, and notwithstanding some doctrinal errors, is much valued. He seems in this work scarcely to have realized the Scripture view of regeneration, which is ably expounded in the 35th sermon of the first volume of his works:—

But what our Lord means by being 'born of water and the Spirit,' is now made a question: I say now, for it was never made so till of late years. For many ages together none doubted of it, but the whole Christian world took it for granted, that our Saviour, by these words, meant only that except a man be baptized according to his institution, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; this being the

most plain and obvious sense of the words, forasmuch as there is no other way of being born again of water, as well as of the Spirit, but only in the Sacrament of Baptism.

“ To understand what he means by being born again, we must call to mind what he saith in another place, ‘ My kingdom is ‘not of this world ;’ (John, xviii. 36.) though it is in this world, it is not of it; it is not a secular or earthly kingdom, but a kingdom purely spiritual and heavenly : ‘ It is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ;’ (Rom. xiv. 17.) And therefore when a man is born into this world, he is not thereby qualified for the kingdom of God, nor hath any right title to it, no more than as if he had not been born at all; but before he enter into that, he must be born again, he must undergo another kind of birth than he had before : he was before born of the flesh, he must now be born of the Spirit; otherwise he cannot be capable of entering into such a kingdom, as is altogether spiritual. Thus our Lord Himself explains his own meaning by adding immediately in the next words, ‘ That which is born of the flesh, is flesh,’ &c. . . . As if He had said, he that is born, as all men are at first, only of the flesh, such a one is altogether carnal and sensual ; and so can be affected with nothing but the sensible objects of this world. But he that is born of the Spirit of God, thereby becomes a spiritual creature, and so is capable of those spiritual things of which the kingdom of God consisteth, ‘ even of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.’ And he whose mind is changed, and turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, is truly said to be born again ; because he is quickened with another kind of life than he had before ; and to be born of the Spirit of God, because it is by it that this new and spiritual life is wrought in him. So that he is now born into another world, even into the kingdom of God, where he hath God Himself, of whom he is born, for his Father,

and the kingdom of God for his portion and inheritance. And therefore it is, that except a man be thus born of the Spirit, it is impossible he should enter into the kingdom of God, seeing he can enter into it no other way, than by being born of the Spirit.

“But that we may thus be born of the Spirit, we must be born also of water, which our Saviour here puts in the first place. Not as if there was any such virtue in water, whereby it could regenerate us, but because this is the rite or ordinance appointed by Christ, wherein to regenerate us by His Holy Spirit. Our regeneration is wholly the act of the Spirit of Christ; but there must be something done on our parts in order to it, and something that is instituted and ordained by Christ Himself: which in the Old Testament was circumcision; in the New, baptism, or washing with water: the easiest that could be invented, and the most proper to signify His cleansing and regenerating us by His Holy Spirit. And seeing this is instituted by Christ Himself, as we cannot be born of water without the Spirit, neither can we, in an ordinary way, be born of the Spirit without water, used or applied in obedience and conformity to His institution. Christ hath joined them together, and it is not in our power to part them: he that would be born of the Spirit, must be born of water too.

“As baptizing necessarily implies the use of water, so our being made thereby disciples of Christ, as necessarily implies our partaking of His Spirit: for all that are baptized, and so made the disciples of Christ, are thereby made the members of His Body; and are therefore said to be baptized into Christ, (Rom. vi. 5. Gal. iii. 27.) But they who are in Christ, members of His Body, must needs partake of the Spirit that is in Him their Head. Neither doth the Spirit of Christ only follow upon, but certainly accompanies the Sacrament of Baptism, when duly administered according to His institution. For as St Paul saith, ‘By one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body.’

(1 Cor. xii. 13.) So that in the very act of baptism, the Spirit unites us unto Christ, and makes us members of His Body; and if of His Body, then of His Church and Kingdom, that being all His Body. And therefore all who are rightly baptized with water, being at the same time baptized also with the Holy Ghost, and so born of water and the Spirit, they are, *ipso facto*, admitted into the Kingdom of God, established upon earth, and if it be not their own fault, will as certainly attain to that which is in heaven."

A little further on he says:—"This I would desire all here present to take special notice of, that you may not be deceived by a sort of people risen up among us, who being led, as they pretend, by the light within them, are fallen into such horrid darkness, and damnable heresies, that they have quite laid aside the Sacrament of Baptism, and affirm, in flat contradiction to our Saviour's words, that they may be saved without it. I pray God to open their eyes, that they may not go blindfold into eternal damnation. And I advise you all, as you desire not to apostatize from the Christian religion, and as you tender your eternal salvation, take heed that you be never seduced by them, under any pretence whatsoever; but rather, if you be acquainted with any of them, do what you can to turn them from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God again; that they may obtain forgiveness of their sins, and inheritance among them who are sanctified by faith in Him who saith, 'Except a man be born of water,' &c.

"Not only a man, in contradiction to a child, or a woman, but as it is in the original, ἐάν μὴ τις, except any one, any human creature whatsoever, man, woman, or child, 'except he be born of water,' &c. . . . So that our Lord is so far from excluding children from baptism, that He plainly includes them, speaking in such general terms, on purpose that we may know that no sort of people, old or young, can ever be saved without it. And so He doth too, where He commands, as was observed before, that

‘All nations should be made disciples by being baptized in the name of,’ For, under all nations, children must needs be comprehended, which make a great, if not the greatest part of all nations. And although these general expressions be sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of infant baptism, yet foreseeing that ignorant and unlearned people would be apt to wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction, He elsewhere commands children particularly to be brought unto Him, saying, ‘Suffer the little children,’ &c. (Mark, x. 14.) But if the kingdom of God consist of children, as well as other people, they must of necessity be baptized, or born of water and the Spirit; for otherwise, He Himself saith, ‘They cannot enter into the kingdom.’

“Hence it is, that we find the apostles baptizing whole families, children, if any, as well as others: and the whole Catholic Church, in all places and ages ever since, hath constantly admitted the children of believing parents into the Church, by baptizing them according to the institution and command of our Saviour; none ever making any question of it, but all Christians, all the world over, taking it for granted that it ought to be done, till of late years.”

On the third of January, 1660—1, he was ordained deacon by bishop Sanderson, and, on the thirty-first of the same month, was admitted into priest's orders. About the same time Dr Gilbert Sheldon, then bishop of London, collated him to the vicarage of Ealing, in the county of Middlesex.

From his sermon “On Christ's presence with His Ministers,” we gather his sentiments on the apostolical succession, and the sacred office to which he was now admitted.

“In the first place I observe, how much we are all bound to acknowledge the goodness, to praise, magnify, and adore the Name of the Most High God, in that we were born and bred, and still live in a church, wherein the apostolical line hath, through all ages, been preserved

entire ; there having been a constant succession of such bishops in it, as were truly and properly successors to the apostles, by virtue of that apostolical imposition of hands, which being begun by the apostles, hath been continued from one to another, ever since their time, down to ours. By which means the same Spirit which was breathed by our Lord into his apostles is, together with their office, transmitted to their lawful successors, the pastors and governors of our church at this time ; and acts, moves, and assists at the administration of the several parts of the apostolical office in our days, as much as ever. From whence it follows, that the means of grace which we now enjoy are in themselves as powerful and effectual as they were in the apostles' days, &c. . . .

“And this, I verily believe, is the great reason why the devil has such a great spite at our church, still stirring up adversaries of all sorts against it,—papists on the one hand, and sectaries on the other, and all, if possible, to destroy it ; even because the Spirit which is ministered in it, is so contrary to his nature, and so destructive of his kingdom, that he can never expect to domineer and tyrannize over the people of the land, so long as such a church is settled among them, and they continue firm to it. . . .

“As for schism, they certainly hazard their salvation at a strange rate, who separate themselves from such a church as ours is, wherein the apostolical succession, the root of all Christian communion, hath been so entirely preserved, and the word and sacraments are so effectually administered ; and all to go into such assemblies and meetings, as can have no pretence to the great promise in my text. (Matt. xxviii. 20.) For it is manifest, that this promise was made only to the apostles and their successors to the end of the world. Whereas, in the private meetings, where their teachers have no apostolical or episcopal imposition of hands, they have no ground to succeed the apostles, nor by consequence any right to the

Spirit which our Lord hath; without which, although they preach their hearts out, I do not see what spiritual advantage can accrue to their hearers by it," &c. . . .

At Ealing he remained for twelve years, and here he was able to pursue his studies while discharging with diligence his parochial duties. The result of his studies was apparent in 1669, in the appearance of his *Institutionum Chronologicarum libri duo, una cum totidem Arithmetices Chronologicæ Libellis*. Although it was regarded by the author only as an elementary work, it has been made use of by subsequent chronologers, and was so well received at the time of its publication, that new editions were required in 1705, and in 1721. His great work appeared in 1672, entitled *Σύνοδιον, sive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab Ecclesiâ Græcâ receptorum; nec non Canoniarum SS. Patrum Epistolarum; una cum Scholiis Antiquorum singulis eorum annexis, et Scriptis aliis huc spectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, aliarumque MSS. Codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iisdem MSS. summâ Fide et Diligentiâ collata*. Totum Opus, in duos Tomos divisum, Gulielmus Beveregius, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter, recensuit, Prolegomenis et Annotationibus auxit, 2 vols. folio.

The first volume contains the canons that have been assigned to the apostles, those of the two Nicene councils, of four Constantinopolitan councils, and of other Asiatic councils, together with the arguments and Arabic paraphrase of Joseph, surnamed the Egyptian, on the canons of the first four general councils; the whole being prefaced by the learned editor's Prolegomena. The second volume contains the canons of Dionysius and Peter, both of Alexandria; various monuments of oriental episcopacy; the Syntagma, or alphabetical index, compiled by Michael Blastaris; the acts of the synod, which restored Photius to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and those of the eighth council held there. The work has Greek in one

column, and a Latin translation in the other, and comprises the Scholia of learned orientals on most of the canons, together with copious notes by Beveridge himself.

The "Pandectæ Canonum," as Mr Horne observes, continues to hold a distinguished place in public libraries, as a book of permanent authority and reference in all matters of controversy relative to the doctrines or discipline of the Christian Church.

The publication of this great work appears to have excited considerable attention upon the Continent, where some of his opinions, relative to the date of the canons attributed to the apostles, were attacked in an anonymous tract, now known to have been written by Matthieu de Larroque, a minister of the French reformed church at Rouen; who, in 1674, published 'Observationes in Ignatianas Pearsonii Vindicis, et in Adnotationes Beveridgii in Canones Apostolorum.' Rothomagi, 8vo. This called forth a reply from Dr Beveridge, intituled, 'Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Vindicatus et Illustratus. Londini, 1697,' in 4to.

In his notes on these canons, he had fixed their date to the end of the second, or beginning of the third century; taking a middle course between the opinion of Francesco Turriano, who affirmed that they were all made by the apostles at the council of Jerusalem, and that of Jean Daillé, an eminent minister of the French reformed church at Paris, who maintained they were the production of some anonymous writer, who forged these pretended apostolical canons before the end of the fifth century. The strictures of Beveridge on the hypothesis of Daillé called forth the observations of Larroque, to whom the 'Codex Canonum Primitivæ Ecclesiæ Vindicatus' is designed as a reply. The bishop has here re-asserted and vindicated the date which he had assigned to these canons, with much learning and ingenuity. The judgment, however, of the learned is not in unison with his Vindication. These pseudepigraphal canons are unquestionably of great antiquity: but although they bear the

name of the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, they are destitute of the external evidence necessary to support that claim, not having been quoted by any Christian writer of the first three centuries.

From the *Codex Canonum Eccles. Prim. Vindicatus ac illustratus* we may gather Beveridge's church principles. "Seeing," he says "that no one doubts but that more confidence is to be placed in the whole body than in individual Christians, and more in the universal Church than in any particular churches whatsoever: seeing also that there are very many points in which the universal Church, during many ages after the apostles, agreed: seeing, finally, that this consent of the universal Church is the surest interpretation of holy Scripture on those points on which it may be had: it hence most clearly follows, of what and how great use the ancient fathers, and other writers of all ages of the Church, must be, and how necessary to be consulted by them, who, in the prosecution of ecclesiastical controversies, have at heart either their own salvation, or the peace of the Church. For, were there no commentaries of the ancient church, no acts of councils, no monuments of ecclesiastical history, extant at this day, in how great darkness should we be involved respecting our very religion itself? How easy would it be for any subtle heretic, or even for any the most flagitious impostor, under the mask of piety, to deceive the generality, and to lead them into the most pernicious errors of every description? Who could then convict the church of Rome, or any other, even the most corrupt communion, of fault or error, in those particulars which are not expressly prohibited in holy Scripture? For whence could it be proved, whether those things which are in use in that church had, or had not, been handed down from the very apostles, and approved by the consent of the universal Church? Finally, how many and how great disadvantages of every kind would arise hence? But there is no reason that we should occupy our time in the enumeration of these things, seeing that amidst so many and so great confusions of empires,

convulsions of particular churches, and perturbation of all human affairs, it hath been so ordered by the most wise and merciful providence of Almighty God, that from the very times of the apostles even unto these our own times, there is no age whose ecclesiastical memorials are not preserved to us. From which memorials accordingly we are enabled to conceive a perfect idea of the universal Church, and to feel assured and certain, what has through all ages been admitted and what rejected: what rites and doctrines have prevailed, what heresies and schisms have been disapproved and condemned. Finally, from these and these alone we may see, on what points of doctrine and discipline, agreement hath ever prevailed among all churches, and on what again, controversy hath existed between them, and consequently what is more, and what less, necessary to be believed and observed. For whatever is to be said of other things, those things at any rate in which all churches every where have agreed, cannot but be most certain, and necessary, even at this very time, to be retained of all."

His view of our reformation also is admirable, on which subject he remarks, "When this our English church, through long communion with the Roman church, had contracted like stains with her, from which it was necessary that it should be cleansed, they who took that excellent and very necessary work in hand, fearing that they, like others, might rush from one extreme to the other, removed indeed those things, as well doctrines as ceremonies, which the Roman church had newly and insensibly superinduced, and, as was fit, abrogated them utterly. Yet notwithstanding, whatsoever things had been, at all times, believed and observed, by all churches, in all places, those things they most religiously took care not so to abolish with them. For they well knew, that all particular churches are to be formed on the model of the universal Church, according to that general and received rule in ethics, 'every part which agreeth not with its whole is therein base.' Hence therefore these first re-

formers of this particular church directed the whole line of that reformation, which they undertook, according to the rule of the whole or universal Church, casting away those things only which had been either unheard of, or rejected by, the universal Church, but most religiously retaining those which they saw, on the other side, corroborated by the consent of the universal Church. Whence it hath been brought to pass, that although we have not communion with the Roman, nor with certain other particular Churches, as at this day constituted, yet have we abiding communion with the universal and Catholic Church, of which evidently ours, as by the aid of God first constituted, and by his pity still preserved, is the perfect image and representation.

“But, that we digress no further from our proposed object, when we are speaking of the *universal* Church, and its agreement, without any doubt, regard is to be had especially to the *primitive* church: inasmuch as, although it be only a part of the whole, yet is it universally agreed that it was the more pure and genuine part. For the same hath happened to the Church, which hath happened to each several commonwealth, namely, that, ancient customs passing by degrees into disuse, new institutions are devised by the wanton imaginations of men’s minds, which very fault is above all other to be eschewed in religion. For it is agreed among all Christians, that the Apostolic Church as constituted by the apostles of our Lord in person, under the guidance of divine inspiration, and by them whilst yet living administered, was of all churches the purest and most perfect. Furthermore nothing seems more at variance with the common faith of Christians than that the doctrine or discipline instituted by the apostles, should have been corrupted or any way changed by their immediate successors. For all confess, that the apostles were most faithful men, and of consequence willed to ordain none as their successors, except those whose faith and integrity were fully approved by themselves personally. Therefore the first successors of

the apostles doubtless kept inviolate and uncorrupted the Church, whose government had been entrusted to them ; and in like manner handed it down to their own successors, and these again to others, and so on ; insomuch that there can exist no doubt, but that at least during two or three ages from the apostles the Church flourished in her primitive vigour, and, so to say, in her virgin estate, that is, in the same condition in which she had been left by the apostles themselves ; except that from time to time new heresies burst forth even in those days, by which the Church was indeed harassed, but in no way corrupted ; clearly no more than the church, strictly apostolic, was perverted by those errors, which arose whilst the apostles were yet living. For they had scarcely time to rise up, before they were rejected by the Catholic Church. Which things therefore notwithstanding, the universal Church which followed ever held that *primitive* church to be most pure, and, in refuting all heresies which afterwards arose, appealed to her as the rule of other churches. For if any one endeavoured to bring any thing new into the doctrine or discipline of the Church, those fathers who opposed themselves to him, whether individually or assembled together in a body, sought their arguments, as out of the holy Scriptures, so also out of the doctrines and traditions of the church of the first ages. For this is observable in nearly all acts of councils, and commentaries of individual fathers, wherever, that is, ecclesiastical controversies are discussed. And indeed nothing still is more rational, nothing certainly more desirable, than that all particular churches at this day wherever constituted, were reformed after the model of the primitive church. For this measure would immediately cast forth whatever corruptions have crept in during later ages, and would restore to their ancient original all things which are required for the true constitution of a Christian church."

In November, 1672, Beveridge was instituted to the rectory of St Peter's, Cornhill, London, and resigned the

vicarage of Ealing. In December, the year following, he was collated by bishop Henchman to the prebend of Chiswick, in St Paul's cathedral: in 1679 he took his DD degree; and in November, 1681, he was made archdeacon of Colchester, being collated thereto by bishop Compton.

His conscientious mind, upon his appointment to so important a cure as that of St Peter's, withdrew from those learned labours which had hitherto been his delight, and he devoted himself exclusively, with primitive zeal and piety, to the duties of the pastoral office. His labours were incessant: he established weekly communions and daily service. It is not surprising that he should appoint weekly communions, as, in his "Private Thoughts," he thus states his faith with regard to the Holy Eucharist: "As Baptism thus comes in the place of the Jew's Circumcision, so doth our Lord's Supper answer to their Passover. Their Paschal Lamb represented our Saviour Christ, and the sacrificing of it, the shedding of His Blood upon the cross; and as the passover was the memorial of the Israelites' redemption from Egypt's bondage, (Ex. xii. 14.) so is the Lord's Supper the memorial of our redemption from the slavery of sin, and assertion into Christian liberty; or, rather, it is a solemn and lively representation of the death of Christ, and offering it again to God, as an atonement for sin, and reconciliation to His favour.

"So that I believe this Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, under the gospel, succeeds to the right of sacrificing under the law, and is properly called the Christian Sacrifice, as representing the Sacrifice of Christ upon the cross."

In another place, after referring to the sacrifices and offerings of the Jews, he remarks, "there were many such ways, whereby the people of God, in those days, were constantly put in mind of what the Saviour of the world was to do, and suffer for them. All which are now laid aside, and only this one Sacrament of His last supper, instituted by Himself, in the room of them. This is now our Christian shewbread, whereby we 'shew the Lord's

death till He come.' This is our burnt-offering, our sin-offering, our trespass-offering, our thank-offering, our meat-offering, our drink-offering, and all the offerings required of us, whereby to commemorate our blessed Saviour, and what He hath done for us; and, therefore, as the Jews were punctual and constant in observing all things prescribed to them, for the same end we certainly ought to do this as often as we can: this one thing, which answers the end of all their offerings, and yet hath neither the trouble, nor the charges, nor the difficulty of any one of them."

His exhortations to his people to attend daily service were very urgent. He observes in his sermon "On the Advantage of Public Prayer," that "the more pleasing any duty is to God, the more profitable it is to those who do it. And therefore He having so often, both by word and deed, manifested Himself well-pleased with the *public* or common service which His people perform to Him, we cannot doubt but they always receive proportionable advantage from it. The Jews call *stated public* prayers *Stations*; and have a saying among them, 'That without such stations the world could not stand.' Be sure no people have any ground to expect *public* peace and tranquillity, without praising and praying *publicly* unto Him, who alone can give it. But if all the people (suppose of this nation) should every day with one heart and mouth join together in our *common* supplications to Almighty God, how happy should we then be? how free from danger? how safe and secure under His protection? This is the argument which Christ Himself useth, why 'Men ought always to pray, and not to faint;' in the parable of the unjust judge, who was at last prevailed with to grant a widow's request, merely by her importunity in asking it. 'And shall not God,' saith He, 'avenge His own elect, which cry *day and night* unto Him, though He bear long with them? I tell you that He will avenge them speedily.' But then He adds, 'Nevertheless, when the Son of Man

cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?' (Luke, xvii. 7, 8.) As if He had said, God will most certainly avenge and protect those who cry day and night, *morning* and *evening*, to Him. But men will not believe this; and that is the reason why there are so few who believe that He will hear their prayers, according to His promise. But blessed be God, though they be but few, there are some, who really believe God's Word, and accordingly *pray* every *morning* and *evening*, not only for themselves, but for the country where they live, for all their governors both in church and state, and for all sorts and conditions of men among us. To these the whole kingdom is beholden for its support and preservation. If they should once fail, I know not what would become of us. But so long as there are pious and devout persons crying day and night to God for aid and defence against our enemies, we need not fear any hurt they can ever do us; at least according to God's ordinary course of dealing in the world."

It is thus that the character of Beveridge as a parish priest is described by a contemporary: "How powerful and instructive was he in all his discourses from the pulpit! How warm and affectionate in his private exhortations! How orthodox in his doctrine! How regular and uniform in the public worship of the church! In a word, so zealous was he, and heavenly-minded, in all the spiritual exercises of his parochial function, and his labours were so remarkably crowned with blessing and success, that, as he himself was justly styled the great reviver and restorer of primitive piety, so his parish was deservedly proposed as the best model and pattern for its neighbours to copy after."

Equally diligent he was as an archdeacon, visiting every parish in his archdeaconry. In the year 1684 he succeeded Dr Peter Du Moulin in a stall in Canterbury cathedral; and some time between the following year and 1688, he became associated with Dr Horneck in directing the religious societies which had begun to be formed in

London, and which soon extended to different parts of the country. They were intended at first to stop the progress of popery by piety and prayer, although they were looked upon with jealousy by some among the ultra-protestants. Their object may be gathered from the principles upon which each society was conducted. The members of this society shall heartily endeavour, through God's grace,

1. To be just in all their dealings, even to an exemplary strictness.

2. To pray many times every day; remembering our continual dependence upon God, both for spiritual and temporal things.

3. To partake of the Lord's Supper at least once a month, if not prevented by a reasonable impediment.

4. To practise the profoundest meekness and humility.

5. To watch against censuring others.

6. To accustom themselves to holy thoughts in all places.

7. To be helpful one to another.

8. To exercise tenderness, patience, and compassion, towards all men.

9. To make reflections on themselves when they read the Holy Bible, or other good books, and when they hear sermons.

10. To shun all foreseen occasions of evil; as evil company, known temptations, &c.

11. To think often on the different estates of the glorified and the damned in the unchangeable eternity to which we are hastening.

12. To examine themselves every night, what good or evil they have done in the day past.

13. To keep a private fast once a month (especially near their approach to the Lord's table), if at their own disposal; or to fast from some meals when they may conveniently.

14. To mortify the flesh, with its affections and lusts.

15. To advance in heavenly-mindedness, and in all grace.

16. To shun spiritual pride, and the effects of it, as railing, anger, peevishness, and impatience of contradiction, and the like.

17. To pray for the whole society in their private prayers.

18. To read pious books often for their edification, but especially the Holy Bible: and herein particularly,

Matt. v. vi. vii. Luke, xv. xvi. Rom. xii. xiii. Eph. v. vi. 1 Thess. v. Rev. i. ii. iii. xxi. xxii.

And in the Old Testament, Lev. xxvi. Deut. xxviii. Isa. liii. Ezek. xxxvi.

19. To be continually mindful of the great obligation of this special profession of religion; and to walk so circumspectly, that none may be offended or discouraged from it by what they may see in them; nor occasion given to any to speak reproachfully of it.

20. To shun all manner of affectation and moroseness; and be of a civil and obliging deportment to all men.

Thus the object of these societies, in the direction of which Dr Beveridge held so conspicuous a place, was, first and principally, to promote edification and personal piety in their several members, for which purpose their rules appear to have been well calculated. They did not, however, confine themselves to this single design, but endeavoured to promote piety in others in various ways. For this purpose they procured sermons to be preached every Sunday evening in many of the largest churches in the city, either by way of preparation for the Lord's Supper, or to engage communicants to a suitable holiness of life after partaking of that sacrament, which was also administered in many churches every Sunday. They further extended their charity to deserving objects in all parts of London and its suburbs; and by the pecuniary collections which they procured to be made, many clergymen were maintained to read prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour of the day. Among other benefits which resulted from these religious associations, was the

institution of societies for reformation of manners, and the establishment of the two venerable societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge at home as well as abroad, and for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts ; both of which subsist to this day with increasing activity and usefulness.

To the revolution of 1688 Dr Beveridge gave his adhesion. The question of submitting to the government *de facto* was a difficult one, and while some of the most orthodox of our divines declined the oath of allegiance to one whom they regarded as a usurper, carrying with them the reputation of devotedness to their spiritual duties and indifference to their secular interests ; others, like Dr Beveridge, as devoted and as disinterested, took a different view of their duty, and to escape the miseries of popery, acquiesced in the revolution when it had been effected. The latter underwent trials as well as the non-jurors : to generous minds it is grievous to have sordid motives attributed to them to account for their conduct, and to affectionate hearts the disruption of old friendships, occasioned by differences of opinion, is peculiarly painful. The temporary association with uncongenial spirits, also, must have been anything but agreeable ; and there are few who could have been less congenial to Dr Beveridge than such men as Tillotson and Burnet, with whom, up to a certain point, he was now compelled to act. The minds of men had been agitated by the political revolution, and their principles were shaken ; Tillotson and Burnet, therefore, thought this a fitting opportunity to revolutionize the Church, by the sacrifice of catholic practice, and the adoption of ultra-protestant principles, making the breach wider between the church of England and the church of Rome, and vainly hoping to conciliate the multitudinous sects of ultra-protestants. The desire was to retreat, as far as possible, from all positive, objective, and dogmatic theology, and to form a politic union between parties who could not be united by a bond

of love, but might be united by a bond of common hatred, —the hatred of popery. It was attempted at first to carry this point by act of parliament; but the church of England was not reduced as yet to its present state of degradation, nor would the majority of her bishops have consented to parliamentary legislation on that point. The non-jurors were strong in principle, and they would have been so increased in point of numbers, had parliament attempted to interfere with the internal arrangements of the Church, that the impolicy of such a proceeding would have been apparent, even if better principles had not prevailed in parliament itself. Parliament declined to interfere until convocation had been consulted: both houses presented an address to the king, praying, that “according to the ancient practice and usage of this kingdom in time of parliament, his majesty would be graciously pleased to issue forth his writs, as soon as conveniently might be, for calling a convocation of this kingdom, to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters.” A sentiment of this nature, entertained so cordially by the house of commons, from which it emanated, was of course responded to by the clergy, and Tillotson yielded to the necessity of the case. To make all arrangements requisite for the convocation, a commission was issued on the 13th of September, 1689, to ten bishops and twenty other divines, requiring “them to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, and to consider such other matters as might most conduce to the good order and edification and unity of the church of England.” The name of Beveridge appeared in the commission. By those who were the authors of the movement it was proposed that the following changes should be made :

Chanting to be discontinued.

Certain select psalms to be read on Sundays; but the daily course not to be altered.

The omission of the apocryphal lessons, and of some from the Old Testament.

A rubric on the usefulness of the sign of the cross in baptism. The use of it to be omitted altogether when desired.

The sacramental elements to be administered in pews, to those who might object to kneeling.

A rubric declaring that Lent fasts consisted in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinctions of meats; and another to explain the meaning of the Ember weeks.

The rubric enjoining the daily reading or hearing of common prayer on the clergy to be changed into an exhortation.

The *Absolution* to be read by deacons; the word *minister* being substituted for *priest*; and the words "remission of sins" omitted as not very intelligible.

The *Gloria Patri* not to be repeated at the end of every psalm.

In the *Te Deum*, the words *only begotten Son*, substituted for *Thine honourable, true, and only Son*.

The 128th psalm to be substituted for the *Benedicite*; and other psalms for the *Benedictus* and *Nunc Dimittis*.

The versicles after the Lord's Prayer to be read kneeling; and after the words "Give peace, &c.," an answer promissory, on the part of the people, of keeping God's law: the old response being supposed by the commissioners to savour of too strong a view of predestination.

All titles of the king and queen to be omitted, and the word "Sovereign" only used.

In the prayer for the king, the clause, "Grant that he may vanquish, &c.," changed into, "*Prosper all his righteous undertakings against Thy enemies.*"

The words, "who worketh great marvels," changed into, "who alone art the author of all good gifts;" and the words, "the holy Spirit of Thy grace," substituted for "the healthful Spirit of Thy grace." The reason assigned for the latter was this, that the word healthful was *obsolete*.

The prayer, "O God, whose nature and property," to be omitted, as full of strange and impertinent expressions.

The collects to be revised by the bishop of Chichester.

If a minister refused the *surplice*, and the people desired it, the bishop to be at liberty to appoint another, providing the living would bear it.

Sponsors to be disused, and children to be presented in the name of their parents, if desired.

A rubric to declare, that the curses in the Athanasian Creed are confined to those who deny the substance of the Christian religion.

Certain alterations to be made in the *Litany*, the *Communion Service*, and the *Canons*.

Many other verbal alterations were suggested, and several things were left to the care of Tenison.

Such were the alterations proposed, and it is surprising, as well as satisfactory, to find that much would now be freely tolerated even by ultra-protestants, which the liberal churchmen of the revolution were prepared to concede. The convocation assembled, and Dr Beveridge was appointed to preach the *Concio ad clerum*; when he hesitated not to take the opportunity of declaring against any concessions or alterations. His whole discourse, grounded on the text, 1 Cor. xi. 16, "If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God," is an able argument to this effect.

The convocation met in the month of December, and the business that first engaged their attention, the appointment of a prolocutor in the lower house, furnished a favourable opportunity for trying the strength of the two contending parties, and bringing all their differences, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to an issue. The court party proposed Dr Tillotson as their candidate. The candidate of the opposite party was Dr Jane, dean of Gloucester, and regius professor of divinity at Oxford, who was known to be a divine of great reading and resolution. He was elected by a large majority; and when

the bishops sent down an address acknowledging the protection his majesty had afforded to religion in general, and especially to their own established form of it, but so expressed as to include the church of England under the general title of protestant churches, the lower house required the expression to be altered, on the avowed principle that they disowned all communion with foreign protestants. The case was too manifest to be misunderstood: and the king readily adopted the only alternative remaining to him, of discontinuing the session.

The independent conduct of Dr Beveridge did not at once alienate from him the revolutionary court. Among the more eminent of the clergy, most of those who held sound church principles had been driven from their posts, and the administration of the church was now for the most part in the hands of men prepared for political purposes to sacrifice every church principle. Dr Beveridge, therefore, was not to be overlooked by the revolutionary government: an attempt was still made to bribe him to the Dutch interest. In 1690 he was nominated chaplain to the revolutionary royal family, and in 1691 he was offered the bishopric of Bath and Wells. It was a difficult point to settle whether he could conscientiously accept the offer: he was in a novel position in which he had no precedents to guide him. He had consented to the revolution, as several other sound churchmen did, but the see of Bath and Wells was not vacant. The great and good Dr Ken had not been canonically deprived, neither had he tendered his resignation. Could he be considered as virtually resigning the bishopric by not taking the oaths, as king James II. was regarded as having virtually abdicated the throne when he fled the kingdom? It may be easy, in the opinion of some, to answer the question now, but it was very different to those who were in the midst of the conflict. Beveridge consulted archbishop Sancroft, but Sancroft, angry with him for having consented to the revolution, gave him a sarcastic rather than a satisfactory

answer; but Dr Beveridge, after weighing all the circumstances of the case, at the end of three weeks refused to accept a bishopric which was not canonically vacant. He acted nobly. He did not violate his conscience to please those with whom he was politically acting, and who must have plied him with arguments to justify such conduct as they themselves adopted: the non-jurors only despised him for not going further, and he met with no sympathy from them. But he pursued his own course; while he submitted to the government, he would not sanction an unjust and uncanonical proceeding, nor would he usurp the office or eat the bread of another. William and his government were now exasperated against him, and determined that he should receive no other preferment from them. He continued for thirteen years in his honourable office of parish priest, complacent, doubtless, in the happy thought that he had sacrificed wealth and high station to sound church principles, and though he was misunderstood by the two extremes, the integrity of his heart was known to the God whom he loved and served. He did not relax in his laborious duties, but discharged them with an assiduity best evinced by the general success which attended his ministry.

In 1701—2, Dr Beveridge was proposed as prolocutor of the lower house of convocation by the whigs, who shewed their wisdom in selecting a man so moderate in his political, while he was so decided in his church, principles; but the intrigues of Atterbury procured the election of Dr Woodward, dean of Sarum. Beveridge was advanced in years before he had another offer of a bishopric. He was consecrated on the 6th of July, 1704, having been elected to the see of St Asaph. With his usual conscientious diligence he commenced his new duties, and shewed that age had not weakened his faculties. A parish priest himself, he knew how to sympathize with parish priests, and immediately addressed himself, as chief pastor, to a subject bearing upon the welfare equally of the clergy and laity.

He addressed a letter to his clergy, in which he recommended to them the duty of catechising; and in order to enable them to do this the more effectually, he, in the course of the same year, sent them a plain and easy explanation of the catechism of the church of England. How readily would the clergy give heed to the bishop who could appeal to his own practice, to prove the practical wisdom of his advice; how gratefully would they accept the assistance which he offered to enable the least experience to act upon his suggestion. The introductory paragraph of his address to his clergy affords a pleasing evidence of the deep view which bishop Beveridge took of his high and responsible office.

“BRETHREN, BELOVED IN THE LORD,

As God our Saviour, the head of the whole Church, which He hath purchased with His blood, hath been pleased to call me, the unworthiest of His servants, to take care of that part of it which He hath planted in the diocese to which you belong; so I verily believe and expect that He will ere long call me to give Him an account how I have discharged the trust, and performed the duty, which He hath laid upon me. The consideration whereof hath made me very solicitous and thoughtful what to do, and how I may behave myself in this place and station, so that I may appear before Him at that day with joy, and not with shame and grief.”

In the subsequent part of this address he earnestly and affectionately presses the duty of frequent and public catechising; and in conclusion, tells his clergy, that “having spent some thoughts about catechising in general; so as to attain the end of it in the way that is here proposed; and having accordingly drawn up a short explication of the catechism which our Church hath set forth, he thought good to present them with it, as a testimony of his readiness to contribute what he can towards the laying the foundation in some, as well as to the building up others, of the diocese in our most holy faith.”

Nor did the good bishop forget his duties as a peer of the realm : he attended in the house of lords as often as the duties of his bishopric would permit him ; on every occasion evincing himself a steady defender of the rights and privileges of the Church. He foresaw the danger which threatened true religion, by the union of England and Scotland, and he steadily opposed a measure by which the interests of the Church were sacrificed to political expediency, and a permanency given to the presbyterian establishment. He appeared in the house of lords for the last time on the 20th of January, 1707-8, and died on the following 5th of March.

Among the charitable bequests of this Anglican saint, he left £20 a year to the curate of Mount Sorrel, and the vicarage of Barrow, on condition that prayers should be offered every day morning and evening in the chapel and parish church respectively ; together with the sum of forty shillings to be divided equally at Christmas-eve among such poor housekeepers of Barrow, as the minister and churchwardens should agree, *regard being especially had to those who had most constantly attended the daily prayers and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the preceding year.* We presume that this bequest is enjoyed, and these duties performed, at the present time. He left his library in trust to his wife's nephew, Dr William Stanley, to be placed in the cathedral church of St Paul, as the foundation of a library for the benefit of the clergy of the city of London. To the society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts he gave the sum of £100. He had been married, but of his wife nothing is known, except that she died before him without issue.

With the exception of a few occasional sermons, and the catechism explained, bishop Beveridge never published any English works. But large quantities of his manuscripts were printed by his executor after his death. These posthumous works consist of sermons, *Thesaurus Theologicus*, *Private Thoughts*, *Treatises on the Necessity and Advantages of Public Prayer*, and of

Frequent Communion ; a defence of Sternhold and Hopkin's version of the Book of Psalms ; and an exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. All these, together with the English works published by the bishop himself, were collected by the Rev Thomas Hartwell Horne, in 1824, in 9 vols, 8vo, with a memoir of the author. They have since been republished in the library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Considered as works never intended for publication, it is marvellous that their blemishes are so few. There are, as we have observed, in his works, occasional tinges of those opinions which were rife in his younger years, but his mind was too essentially practical to entertain calvinistic notions ; and he was too entirely in earnest in teaching positive truth, and providing real food for his flock, to spend his time and waste his energies in the bare contradiction of error. His labours earned for him the title of "The Restorer and Recoverer of Primitive Piety," and doubtless are not lost among us. He speaks of the church of England in high and glowing language, and sought to "establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth." He contemplated her as a true branch of the Church catholic, and sought to bring out her primitive and catholic character, by acting up to her acknowledged rules, by supplying a constant round of daily services and frequent communions, exercising a more vigorous discipline, and awakening her members to a higher and holier estimation of the ministration and ordinances of the Church. He was accused by heretics of "making many things necessary which Scripture speaks not one word of:" and one of his calumniators observes, "that though the bishop may have been far enough from popery, yet there are some things in him which are agreeable to it."

Beveridge's Works with Horne's Memoir. Preface to the edition of the works in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Cardwell's Conferences.

was born of a noble family among the Anglo-Saxons, at Harpham, a small town in Northumberland. He was a pupil of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and it is said that he himself became the instructor of the venerable Bede; but Mabillon thinks that the tutor of Bede was another John of Beverley. He became first a monk, and then abbot, of St Hilda. He soon rose in favour with Alfred, king of Northumberland, who, in the year 685, gave him the see of Hagustald or Hexham, and in 687, translated him to that of York. In 704 this prelate founded a college at Beverley, for secular priests, which was afterwards endowed with very considerable immunities. Among other privileges, it had that of asylum, or sanctuary, for debtors, and persons suspected of capital crimes. Within it stood a chair of stone with this inscription: "Hæc sedes lapidea *freedstool* dicitur, i. e. Pacis Cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam habet securitatem." That is, "this stone seat, is called freedstool, i. e. the chair of peace, to which what criminal soever flies has full protection." After he had governed the see of York thirty-four years, he divested himself of his episcopal character, and retired to Beverley; and four years after died in the odour of sanctity, on the 7th of May, 721. About the middle of the 16th century, says Mr Camden, (in the year 1564,) upon opening a grave, they met with a vault of squared free-stone, fifteen feet long, and two feet broad at the head, but at the feet a foot and a half broad. Within it was a sheet of lead four feet long, and in that the ashes, and six beads, (whereof three crumbled to dust with a touch, and of three remaining, two were supposed to be cornelian) with three great brass pins, and four large iron nails. Upon the sheet lay a leaden plate, with a Latin inscription to the following purpose. In the year of our Lord 1188, this church was burnt in the month of September, on the night following the feast of St Matthew the apostle; and in the year 1197, on the 6th of the Ides of March, enquiry was made after the relics of St John

in this place, and these bones were found in the east part of the sepulchre, and were buried here, and there also dust mixed with mortar was found and buried. The day of his death was appointed a festival by a synod held at London, in 1416. Bede, and other writers, ascribe several miracles to John of Beverley. Between three and four hundred years after his death, his body was taken up by Alfric, archbishop of York, and placed in a shrine richly adorned with silver, gold, and precious stones. We are told that William the Conqueror, when he ravaged Northumberland with a numerous army, spared Beverley alone, out of a religious veneration for St John of that place. This prelate wrote some pieces, which are mentioned by Bale and Pitts. *Pro Luca exponenda. Homiliæ in Evangelia. Epistolæ ad Hildam Abbatissam. Epistolæ ad Herebaldum, Andenum et Bertinum.*—*Bede. Stubbs. Godwin. Camden.*

BEZA, THEODORE DE, was born at Vezelai, on the 24th of June, 1519. He was sent to Paris at an early period of life, and placed under the protection of an uncle who was abbot of Froidmond. In 1528 he was sent to Orleans as a pupil to Melchior Wolmar, a distinguished scholar, addicted to the reformation; and when Wolmar, through the interest of the queen of Navarre, was appointed Greek professor at Bourges, he was followed thither by his pupil Beza, who remained under his tuition for six years. In 1539 Beza took the degree of licentiate in law at Orleans; after which he returned to Paris. Under the guidance of Wolmar, Beza's genius had been duly cultivated, and he was distinguished in all the branches of elegant literature and philosophy: but for some reason or other, his morals were not attended to by the protestant professor, for at Paris he became so wild and dissipated, that the name of Beza was first known to fame as the author of some clever, but very licentious, poems. Of this publication, he, of course, repented deeply in after life, and an ungenerous use was made of it by his opponents, who ought to have

remembered that at this very time he became practically acquainted with the abuses existing in the Church, and of the absolute need there was of a reformation. The licentious young man was supported by the revenues of the priory of Longjumeau, and of another benefice, without being in orders, and, as intellectually he was inclined to the reformation, most probably without intention of taking them. The privilege of commendam was indeed, as Mr Smedley observes, one of the most fruitful sources of disorder at this time in the Church. In the earlier Christian church, whenever a hostile irruption, a famine, or any other public calamity, had so far diminished the revenues of an episcopal see, or a religious house, as to render them insufficient for the support of its ordinary head, the metropolitan recommended the pastoral charge to some neighbouring ecclesiastic, who accepted the additional burden gratuitously, till a more favourable season permitted a re-establishment of the suspended dignity. It is easy to perceive how this charitable custom, at first so praiseworthy, degenerated in times less pure into abuse. The chief revenues of the cardinals, whom the duties of the sacred college detained in permanent abode at Rome, were at first derived from prebends or other benefices without cure of souls; but ambition and avarice gradually fostered the desire of exalted station and overflowing coffers, and by the perversion of commendams, the richest sees were often accumulated in plurality upon ecclesiastics by whom they could never be visited. The convenient license thus assumed by the court of Rome was not likely to be long unimitated by secular princes; and, in France, the wealthiest benefices were abundantly showered down upon those, whose connexion with the blood royal, or whose cabinet duties as ministers of state, attached them to the court; even women were admitted as *Eveques Laiz*, and either sold their bishoprics or provided substitutes, or *Custodines* as they were termed, to perform the clerical offices for the least possible stipend. Similar abuses prevailed among the inferior clergy; and

dispensations were so readily accorded, that, unless in rare instances, the population at large lived either without any pastors at all, or with curates unworthy of the name. Religion, therefore, was sought for in vain, and its place was usurped by ignorance and superstition.

Although Beza was thus enabled to expend the revenues of the Church in riotous living, a considerable fortune, to which he succeeded on the death of an elder brother, made him independent of outward circumstances, and enabled him without inconvenience to quit the Gallican church, when he determined to act on a resolution most probably formed in the school-room of Melchior Wolmar, and of which he was reminded by a serious illness. He had long promised his mistress, Claudia Denosse, with whom he had lived for four years, to marry her; but continually deferred the fulfilment of his promise, as it would have vacated his ecclesiastical preferments. His conscience having been pricked in his illness, he perceived that he must resign either his mistress or his livings: he generously determined on the latter course, and his mistress became his wife. No impediment now existing, he determined to declare himself on the side of the reformation, and having been married at Geneva, on the 24th of October, 1548, he went to Tübingen to visit his old tutor Melchior Wolmar. He then settled as Greek professor at Lausanne, where he remained for ten years, and amused his leisure moments by the publication of a tragi-comedy, *Le Sacrifice d'Abraham*.

He now came under the influence of the master mind of Calvin, to whom he frequently paid homage during his vacations, and who immediately availed himself of the poetical powers of his disciple. The calvinistic system has rejected all the ancient forms of religion, but to it is to be traced the origin of congregational psalmody. This important part of Genevan worship was supplied from France. Clement Marot, says Mr Smedley, who held a post about the royal household of France, had hitherto

dedicated his facile powers of elegant versification to subjects always light, frequently licentious. Notwithstanding the freedom both of his life and writings, he early embraced the reformed religion; was imprisoned for heresy during the captivity of Francis I in Madrid, and twice afterwards compelled to take refuge in Geneva to escape similar arrest. It was about the year 1540 that, renouncing his former themes, he put forth a metrical French version of the first fifty psalms; and in the dedication to Francis I, after drawing a parallel between that king and David, which, it may be thought, must have cost him no slight struggle with conscience to compose, he very strikingly exhibited the grotesque mixture of ethnical and Christian images, at that time present to his fancy. God, he says, was the Apollo who tuned David's harp; the Holy Spirit was his Calliope; his two-forked Parnassus was the summit of the crystalline heaven; and his Hippocrene was the deep fountain of grace. But, alas! the vein of Marot flowed quite diversely from that of the Hebrew poet-king, and when he ceased to sing of earthly love he ceased also to sing melodiously. The model which he furnished was faithfully copied, not many years afterwards, by the framers of our English psalmody; and the merits of the French bard may be accurately estimated, when we add, that, in his devotional strains, Marot was the Apollo, the Calliope, the Parnassus, and the Hippocrene of Sternhold and Hopkins. Nevertheless, bald as was Marot's version, it was the work of a popular court-poet; it was in rhyme easily adapted to the *vaudevilles* and ballad-tunes of the day; and the translator, perhaps, was not a little surprised to hear every chamber of the palace, and every street in Paris, re-echoing with his sacred songs, frequently accompanied by the fiddle, soon after their publication. As no attempt was made to introduce them into the ritual of the Church, the Sorbonne approved their orthodoxy, and thus unwittingly gave additional keenness to a weapon soon to be turned against themselves.

Calvin had banished the ancient ecclesiastical music, and it is probable that he soon perceived the necessity of a substitute, which might impart some warmth to the general frigidity of his service. Marot's version appeared most seasonably for his purpose. It was so plain and prosaic that every peasant might easily understand, and commit it to memory. All resemblance to the catholic antiphonal chant, which Calvin rejected as superstitious and unedifying, was carefully avoided, by setting the words to simple and monotonous tunes, equally removed from science and from sweetness, but in which every individual of the congregation might take a part. Beza completed the task which Marot had begun; their joint psalms were appended to the catechism of Geneva; passed from the lips of the gallants of France to those of the herdsmen of Switzerland and the citizens of Flanders; became one of the distinguishing characters of calvinism; and called down a severe interdict from the faculty of Paris, by which they had not long since been as formally sanctioned.

It is curious thus to trace congregational psalmody to two poets who were distinguished less by their merit than by the licentiousness of their profane poetry.

In 1556, Beza published his Latin version of the New Testament, of which there were several subsequent editions; but the most celebrated of the works which appeared in his name, during his residence at Lausanne, was his tract *De Hæreticis a civili Magistratu Puniendis*, which was intended to vindicate the character of his friend Calvin against Sebastian Castalio, who had published a work soon after the cruel persecution of Servetus, October 17, 1553, under the title of *Quo Jure, quove Fructu, Hæretici gladio puniendi*. Castalio had in this work advanced some of the leading arguments in favour of toleration, and Beza appears as the advocate for persecution; indeed the right to persecute seems never to have been renounced by the early reformers. According to Dupin, he attempts to prove these

three things : First, That heretics ought to be punished. Secondly, That the punishment of them belongs to the secular magistrate. Thirdly, That one may condemn them to death. These maxims were attacked by several writers and the principle on which Beza supported them, is, that a citizen ought to be an honest man, that those who oppose the true religion are villains, and that therefore the magistrates ought to condemn them. He confesses one ought not to punish those who offend more out of simplicity than malice ; but maintains this general thesis, that heretics are to be put to death, and particularly those who deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the mystery of the Trinity. He considers the arguments which are commonly alleged for toleration, which with him amount to the number of twelve. Those who maintained the contrary affirmed, that the cognizance of religious affairs did not belong to the magistrates. Beza confutes them, but this is a problem which it was impossible for the ultra-protestants to answer :—if you have a right of punishing those men with death, whom you believe to be heretics, why have not the catholic princes the same against you? you give them arms against yourselves. if Calvin and Beza had been wise, they would not have authorized maxims which in the end turned so much to their own destruction.

In 1558, Beza was employed with Fazel and Jean Budé, to solicit the protestant princes of Germany to use their intercession with the king of France in favour of the French protestants, and in this journey he became personally acquainted with Melancthon. On his return he was persuaded by Calvin to apply for his release from the senate of Berne and to settle at Geneva ; with this request the senate of Berne reluctantly complied, and he was presented with his freedom as a citizen of Geneva in the month of April, 1559 ; in the following month he was admitted one of the pastors, and in June he was appointed professor of theology and principal or rector of the academy which had been recently founded there. The last situa-

tion was refused by Calvin, and at his suggestion it was offered to Beza, by whose learning and genius he was deeply impressed. Calvin had in Beza from this time a devoted admirer, disciple, and friend.

We next find him employed in converting to calvinism Anthony king of Navarre, the father of Henry IV. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre himself applied to the council of Geneva to spare him, and invited him to the royal residence at Nerac in Guienne. The genius and eloquence of Beza soon made calvinism popular, and, abetted by the queen of Navarre, over whom he obtained unbounded influence, he succeeded in the year 1560 in destroying many monasteries and churches belonging to the establishment.

The celebrated colloquy at Poissy was held in the year 1561, before Charles IX, the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, and the rest of the French court, between the ecclesiastics of the Gallican church and the calvinistic ministers. At this colloquy Beza was distinguished by the readiness of his wit, the flow of his eloquence, and the badness of his logic. Beza was the spokesman chosen by the Huguenot ministers, and was the chief manager on their side.

Notwithstanding the attempts to come to an understanding with the Huguenots on the part of the Gallican divines, the colloquy at Poissy, and the subsequent conferences, were brought to no satisfactory conclusion. But Beza did not return immediately to Geneva, for when he waited upon the queen mother, to take leave, she claimed him as a Frenchman, and entreated that he would not abandon his native country, while the slightest opening seemed to remain for a mitigation of religious hostility. His consent was the more readily obtained by the willingness which the queen at the same time expressed not to oppose any obstacle against the performance of calvinistic worship in Paris: which was celebrated accordingly, wholly without disguise, by large congregations.

The condition of France was at this time miserably distracted. Some awful collisions between the Catholics and Huguenots occurred, and many were the intrigues on either side to win over the leaders of the opposite party, who, with religion for the pretext, were too often influenced by personal motives. Beza profited by the edict of January, 1562, and preached often in the suburbs of Paris; but he was once more summoned to a more conspicuous arena, and greatly distinguished himself at the conference in the council chamber at St Germain, where the ecclesiastics of the church of France were again assembled by the queen mother, to dispute with the Huguenot ministers on the use of images. Beza spoke on the first day for two hours, and the controversy, as Mr Smedley remarks, was conducted with some playfulness and good humour: the latter was a desirable object, but playfulness is scarcely to be praised on so solemn an occasion. The Romanists were far from agreeing among themselves. Despençe, Boutillier, Picherel and Salignac, altogether abandoned the defence of representations of the Trinity, and of any of the three Persons of the Godhead; and Beza has most graphically described the distress of the unhappy cardinal de Tournon, when he perceived the tendency of their speeches. The president, he says, as Salignac went on, first groaned inwardly, then grumbled openly, next rose from his chair and walked to the fireplace, and at last fairly buried himself out of sight in the farthest corner of the room. Montluc supported the same opinions "magnificently," founding his arguments on Scripture and on the fathers, and maintaining his position by correct and powerful reasoning. He complained also of a personal grievance inflicted upon himself by the Sorbonne. It seems that the faculty, without due respect to his episcopal character, had condemned a book written by him for the use of his clergy in the diocese of Valence, and containing sound and Christian doctrine; while at the same moment it had authorized a very stupid and silly rhyming volume, by one Arthur Desiré, which,

among other evil matters had thus falsified the second commandment in doggrel:—

“Thou shalt make a graven Image,
At your choice of every kind,
Honour it and pay it homage,
God in *that* great joy shall find.”

The bishop of Valence, and the four doctors who agreed with him, then drew up a paper, founded on the above admissions; and expressing their willingness to consent to the removal of all sculptures and paintings of the Trinity, as prohibited by Scripture, by councils, and by many personages of sound wisdom and saintly life. They condemned also the unseemly and licentious carved work which often profaned ecclesiastical buildings, and the representations of the legends of those saints, both male and female, whom the Church rejected as apochryphal. They were content to abolish the adoration, salutation, osculation, investment, and coronation of images; the offering of vows to them, and the processions in which they were carried about, whether through the streets or in churches. The other divines admitted that there might be a few abuses which demanded reform, but stoutly supported the necessity of retaining images altogether.

Beza in consequence presented a long written address to the queen, in which his main argument was founded upon the second commandment, unlawfully retrenched from the decalogue by the church of Rome, as he proved on the authority of the fathers. He protested against any misinterpretation, which might represent him as condemning painting and sculpture in general. They were innocent and even necessary arts, when not employed in opposition to religion and conscience; but the danger of their ministering to idolatry had been discovered not only in the time of the writers of the Old Testament, and in the first three centuries of the Church, but also by the wisest legislators and moralists of paganism. Witness Numa and the Lacedemonians among the former; Varro, Horace, and

Persius among the latter. He then critically examined the word *idol*, which some had wished to restrict to images of the heathen gods; and he proved by reference to Euripides, Homer, and Virgil, (if in agitating sacred themes he might be permitted to name such profane poets) that εἰδωλον, εἰκών, ὁμοίωμα, *imago* and *simulacrum*, were altogether synonymous. These philological niceties, he continued, are little however to the purpose. God's prohibition of idolatry is universal; and if images be worshipped whether by pagans or by Christians, they are worshipped alike in direct violation of the Divine Law. It is idle to urge that the prohibition delivered in the Old Testament relates solely to the Jews, and, as a part of their ceremonial law, is abolished together with the rest of it: those who argue thus should be prepared at the same time to prove that idolatry was a sinful tendency peculiar to the Hebrew nation; whereas, in point of fact, it is a vice which besets human nature itself. In a word, the commandment was delivered for all men and for all seasons, and St Augustine has well said that so far as it is concerned we are now the Jews. The cherubim on the ark of the covenant have been cited as an exception, and they are so. But they were fashioned after an express injunction from God; and can the church of Rome produce any similar injunction for any of its images? moreover, the ark of the covenant was deposited in the sanctuary, remote from the general eye, and therefore not exposed to the abuse of adoration. No worship was paid by the Jews either to the sanctuary or to the altar, any more than to the fire which blazed, or to the victim which burned on the latter; and the romanist who affirms otherwise may be accused on similar grounds, and by borrowing his own arguments of worshipping the Pig of St Anthony, the Horse of St Martin, and the Devil of St Michael, with no less fervent devotion than that which he offers to the images of those saints themselves.

In reply to the customary argument that honour is not directed to the image but to that which the image repre-

sents, Beza triumphantly inquired (and the inquiry has never yet been answered) why then is any local superiority admitted? Why is one image considered more holy and more potent than another? Why are pilgrimages made to distant images, when there are others, perhaps of far better workmanship, near at hand? Again, is it tolerable that in a Christian church an image of the Virgin Mary should be addressed in terms appropriate solely to the Almighty Father, "*omnibus es omnia!*" If the Virgin were yet alive and on earth, how would the humility and lowliness of heart, which she ever so conspicuously evinced, be shocked by the hourly impious appeals to her supposed maternal authority over her blessed Son; "*Roga Patrem, jube Natum!*" "*Jure Matris impera!*" Then, adverting to the reputed miracles performed by images, he contended that by the evidence of judicial inquiries, most of them had been indisputably proved impostures: and even with regard to such as remained undetected, it was detracting honour from God, the sole author of miracles, to attribute any hidden virtue or mystic efficacy to wood or stone. Passing on to a review of the long controversy about images maintained in the Greek church, he concluded by affirming that not less idolatry might be occasioned by crucifixes than by images themselves; and the only part of this memorial, distinguished as it is by acuteness of argument and soundness of learning, in which we perceive any approach to special pleading, is a somewhat too subtle distinction which it attempts to establish between the sign of the cross and a material crucifix. The propositions appended to this document were that images should be altogether abolished: or if that measure were thought too sweeping, that the king would consent to the removal of all representations of the Trinity or its separate Personages; of all images which were indecorous, as for the most part were those of the Virgin; of such as were profane, as those of beasts and many others, produced by the fantastic humours of artists; of all publicly exhibited

in the streets, or so placed at altars that they might receive superstitious veneration; that no offerings or pilgrimages should be made to them; and finally, that crucifixes also should be removed, so that the only representation of the passion of our Lord might be that lively portrait engraved on our hearts by the word of Holy Scripture.

If the suggestions of Montluc and his party, so accordant with the propositions of Beza, had been admitted by the general body of the Gallican church, this conference seemed to promise a nearer approach to union than any of its predecessors; and it must be admitted that the concessions to which the moderate Romanists inclined, were sufficiently ample. But the opinions of those inveterately hostile to all reform ultimately prevailed, and the only result of the discussion, says Beza, was that each party abided by its own opinion.

Beza had converted the king of Navarre so far as to make him a partizan of calvinism; but the royal convert remained as profligate when a calvinist, as he had been when he professed catholicism, and the court soon found means to bring him back once more to the established church. His hostility to Beza was shewn at an audience Beza had with the queen mother, when deputed by the Huguenot ministers to lay their complaint before her, with reference to the violations which had occurred of the edict of January, to which allusion has been made before. The king of Navarre, sternly regarding Beza, accused the Huguenots of now attending worship with arms, Beza replied, that arms, when borne by men of discretion, were the surest guarantee of peace; and that since the transactions at Vassy, (where a fracas had taken place between the retainers of the duke of Guise, and a Huguenot congregation, the duke's people being the aggressors) their adoption had become necessary till the church should receive surer protection; a protection which he humbly requested, in the name of those brethren who had hitherto

placed so great dependence on his majesty. The cardinal of Ferrara here interrupted him by some incorrect representation of the tumult at St Medard; but he was silenced by Beza, who spoke of those occurrences as an eye-witness, and then reverted to the menacing advance of the duke of Guise upon Paris. The king of Navarre declared with warmth, that whoever should touch the little finger of "his brother," the duke of Guise, might as well presume to touch the whole of his own body. Beza replied with gentleness, but with dignity; he implored the king of Navarre to listen patiently, reminded him of their long intercourse, and of the special invitation from his majesty in consequence of which he had returned to France in the hope of assisting in its pacification. "Sire," he concluded in memorable words, "it belongs, in truth, to the church of God, in the name of which I address you, to *suffer* blows, not to *strike* them. But at the same time let it be your pleasure to remember that THE CHURCH IS AN ANVIL WHICH HAS WORN OUT MANY A HAMMER."

Well would it have been if Beza and his partizans had always remembered this, and instead of taking up arms to defend their cause, had maintained it like the primitive Christians by patient suffering. Perhaps they would then have led to the gradual reformation of the church of France, whereas now they took the sword, and perished by the sword. Each party armed. And the question was, which was the stronger, each being prepared, on obtaining the ascendancy, to persecute the other. We are not to suppose that the Huguenots were greater friends to toleration than the Catholics, for in a synod assembled on the 9th of March, 1563, at which seventy-two protestant ministers attended, they demanded that the king should declare himself Protector and Conservator of the confession of faith presented to him in 1561; and then they pointed out, according to Mr Smedley, "the strong necessity of rigorous punishment being directed against all heretics and schismatics, whom they stigmatized by the names of Atheists, Libertines, Anabaptists, and Servetists."

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed account of the bloody and atrocious actions of which the protestants were guilty in seeking to gain the ascendancy ; or of the equally bloody, and in the event, more atrocious retaliations of the Catholics. On either side there was an incarnate fiend. The enormities of Blaise de Montluc disgraced the Catholic cause ; while the protestant cause was equally disgraced by the cruelties of the Baron Des Andrets. With the leaders of the protestants Beza acted, and he was kept by the prince of Condé near his person ; but the leaders, for the most part, abstained from encouraging the cruelties of their followers, although they excited the people to rise up in arms against the government. Beza continued with the insurgents, following the prince of Condé in all his marches, cheering him by his letters when in prison, and reanimating the Huguenots in their defeats, until his career as a herald of war was terminated by the battle of Dreux. At that battle, fought on the 19th of December, 1562, in which the Huguenots were defeated, Beza was present ; but he did not engage in the battle, he was merely at hand to advise his friends.

In the following February, the duke of Guise, the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was assassinated before Orleans by a protestant named Poltrot. When the assassin was seized and examined before the queen and council, he accused Beza, among other leading Huguenots, and declared him to have been privy to his design. Beza declared that, notwithstanding the great and general indignation aroused against the duke of Guise on account of the massacre at Vassy, he had never entertained an opinion that he should be proceeded against otherwise than by the methods of ordinary justice ; for the attainment of which purpose he had assisted with other deputies from the protestant congregations in presenting a memorial to the queen and the late king of Navarre. He admitted that since the duke had commenced the war, he had exhorted the protestants both by letters and sermons to use their arms ; but he had at the same time inculcated the

utmost possible moderation, and had instructed them to seek peace above all things next to the honour of God ; taking heed that they were not deceived. Moreover, that since he esteemed the duke of Guise to be the principal author and fosterer of these troubles, he had numberless times prayed God that He would either change the duke's heart, (of which indeed he never entertained any hope) or else that He would deliver the kingdom from his tyranny : but that he had never held communication either by himself or by any other, with Poltrot, with whom indeed he was wholly unacquainted. In the act committed by that person, however, he recognised the just judgment of God, menacing similar or yet greater punishments to all the confederated enemies of His holy gospel, who are the occasion of so many miseries and calamities to France. Then, commenting on some particular phrases which Poltrot had attributed to him, he expressed a willingness to rest his defence singly upon their manifest falsehood ; for, God be thanked ! he was not so ill instructed in his duty as to misapply scripture by exhorting one who designed to commit murder, to "take up his cross even as his Saviour had taken it up ;" and much less did it accord with the doctrine which he professed, to promise any man paradise as a reward for his works.

After the peace of 1563, Beza returned to Geneva, and resumed his functions of professor and pastor. On Calvin's death, in 1564, he became virtually the head of presbyterianism, and sought to interfere in the religious affairs of every nation. Indignant at the manner in which Beza abetted the puritans of England in their schism, Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, remarked that "he wished a man would read the epistles of Leo, sometime bishop of Rome, and compare them with one of Beza's, to consider whether took more upon them, Leo, where he might command, or Beza, where there was no reason why he should at all have intermeddled."

Beza did not return to France till 1568, when he

repaired to Vezelai on some family business. He visited his native country again to attend and preside over a Huguenot synod, which assembled at La Rochelle, in 1571.

Never had any Huguenot ecclesiastical meeting been attended by so many distinguished personages as graced this synod. "There were present," says the report of its acts, "Joane, by the grace of God, queen of Navarre; the high and mighty prince Henry, prince of Navarre; the high and mighty prince Henry de Bourbon, prince of Condé; the most illustrious prince Louis, count of Nassau; sir Gasper count de Coligny, the admiral of France, and divers other lords and gentlemen, besides the deputies who were members of the Church of God." A proposition made by the admiral is distinguished by its gentleness and charity;—that no person when first reported to the consistory for impropriety of behaviour should be mentioned by name till his miscarriage had been proved. The queen of Navarre was warned in somewhat imperious language, "not to sell her vacant offices, especially those of judicature; nor to bestow them upon the recommendation of another, without her personal knowledge of their qualifications and abilities who are to discharge them;" and to a question which she proposed she received an answer manifesting that the protestants were animated by a decided spirit of exclusiveness. "The queen of Navarre demanded our advice whether through want of others she might with a good conscience receive and establish Roman Catholic officers in her dominions, as also in her court and family. To which the synod humbly replied, that her majesty should take special heed about her domestic officers, and as much as possible employ persons fearing God, and of the reformed religion; and that she should cause the papists who are peaceable, and of unblameable lives, to be instructed, and that she should utterly discard those traitors, who forsook her in her necessities, and cruelly persecuted God's saints in these last troubles."

At this assembly the Huguenot confession of faith was confirmed, and two copies of it were taken, one of which was deposited at Rochelle, the other in the archives of Geneva.

After the execrable massacre of St Bartholomew's-eve, Beza honourably exerted himself to support those of the French whom the fear of death drove from their native land; he interested in their behalf the princes of Germany. He also founded a French hospital at Geneva.

In 1572 he assisted at an assembly of the Huguenots at Nismes, where he opposed John Morrel, who desired to introduce a new discipline. The prince of Condé caused him to come to him at Strasburg in the year 1574, to send him to prince John Casimer, administrator of the palatinate. In 1586 he was employed in the conference of Membelliard, against John Andreas, a divine of Tubingen. Beza desired that the dispute should be managed syllogistically; but he was obliged to yield to the desires of his adversaries, who refused to be confined to syllogisms. In this dispute, as in so many others, each party boasted of having won the victory.

In 1588, she who had lived with him, first as his mistress, and then as his wife, for forty years, paid the debt of nature, and Beza consoled himself before the end of the year by marrying Catherine de la Plane, a widow lady. He was now seventy years of age, and his enemies applied to the septuagenarian the amorous love-songs which first rendered his name popular, and of which in his maturer years he was ashamed. For the wife of his youth his affections seem to have grown cold; for her death did not deter him from attending the synod which about that time the calvinists of Berne had assembled. His admirers have recorded with pleasure the care which his new wife took of him; and of his own gratitude we have the proof in the fact that he left her all that he possessed at Geneva, where he died on the 13th of October, 1605, in his 87th year.

In the affairs of the church of England Beza, as we

have before seen, had the presumption to interfere; and, as he had acted as a rebel in France, he encouraged insubordination in this country. The puritans consulted him, and, according to Strype, they craved his advice in two things:

I. By what means the queen and bishops might be admonished of their duty?

II. What they might do in this juncture with a good conscience?

Beza seriously deliberating with himself, and knowing the queen had no great esteem for the church of Geneva, and that she and the bishops had an honourable respect for that of Zurich, resolved to write to Bullinger, the chief pastor there, and to give him an account of the state of the church of England, and to excite him earnestly to send Gualter into the said kingdom to the queen and the bishops, to intercede in the behalf of the refusers, and to persuade to some further reformation in the church. And this he thought would happen very seasonably, a parliament being at hand, wherein matters of the church would be transacted. So he wrote a private letter to the said Bullinger, wherein he told him, How the miserable brethren craved the counsel, comfort, and prayers of those churches, by whose charity they were once relieved, and hoped again to be so. He confessed that some of them were somewhat morose: but in such miseries, he said, it was hard to keep due bounds; and since their aim was good, his opinion was, that their importunity was to be excused. That by the accounts of the ecclesiastical affairs of England, as he further told father Bullinger, popery was not cast out of England, but rather transferred to the queen's majesty: and that nothing else was drove at, than that what had been lately taken away, might be by little and little restored again. He thought, he said, that the business had been about caps, and such external matters; but that the controversy was much different, he afterwards understood, and that with exceeding trouble and sorrow of mind. That when the outward calling, the examina-

tion of doctrine and manners preceding, done not by any one person, but the whole company of the brethren, was as it were the basis and foundation of the ecclesiastical ministry, what was baser and more irregular, than that liberty the bishops took, to ordain at their own pleasure, not those that were called, but those that came of their own accord? And presently, without any place appointed them, they approved them fit either to *serve*, as they called it, or to teach. And at length they called whom they pleased, and set them over what churches they pleased, giving them a certain instrument for a price, and interposing an oath for two things, viz. that they should acknowledge the queen's majesty for the supreme head of the Church next under Christ, and that they would follow the laws of the kingdom, and especially the book of the reformation [meaning the liturgy] and all the rites, and to disallow of nothing therein.

As for ecclesiastical discipline, that it was not otherwise than was in the papacy; that in the place of a presbytery lawfully chosen, they had their deans, chancellors, archdeacons, officials, who, according to their wills, and as it useth to be in the civil courts, pronounced excommunication *jure canonico*, even for pleas of money and such like. Which sentence the bishop, or his official, sent to the minister to be read in the church; and this to hold valid, until they come and agree with the judge. And the same course was taken in absolving as in excommunicating. How little were they distant from the law of celibacy, who might not marry wives without the express letters of the queen, and the assent of the bishop, and two other justices of the peace? And being married, they were forbid to bring their wives into colleges, or within the bounds of the cathedral churches, as though they were unclean. That not only the revenues of the benefices were left to papists, but the ecclesiastical offices themselves, yielding only an oath to observe the reformation. Insomuch that the godly brethren were placed under many unlearned priests, and such as were most bitter

enemies in their heart to religion, and were forced to be subject to their jurisdiction. That in the archbishop's court were publicly set to sale dispensations for non-residence, pluralities of benefices, choice of meats, marrying out of the appointed times, for a child to hold a benefice and other things of that nature; than which Rome itself had not any thing more filthy and unworthy. That baptism by women was allowed of in case of necessity. That of those few that were pure preachers of the gospel, some were put out of their livings, some thrust into prisons, unless they would promise to approve of all these, and not to gainsay them in word or writing, and resembled the priests of Baal, by wearing square caps, tippets, surplices, and the like. Nor was this all, but that whatsoever hereafter the queen, or the archbishop alone, pleased to appoint, change, or take away in the rites of the church, should be holden firm and good. This, he said, was the state of this church, which to him was miserable and intolerable.

“His judgment was, that though God alone could cure this evil, yet that some trial should be made, rather than it should be endured that such a building should by suffered insolence fall down. That as for their church of Geneva, he left him to judge how it was hated by the queen, in that she had never by the least word signified that his present to her of his annotations was acceptable. That the cause of her hatred was twofold. One was, that they were esteemed too severe and rigid, which especially displeased, he said, such as were afraid of being rebuked. The other, that heretofore, while queen Mary lived, two books were published at Geneva, yet without their knowledge; one against *the government of women*, by Mr Knox; the other of *the right of the magistracy*, by Mr Gudman. But when they knew what was contained in both these books, the French church was displeased at them, and accordingly they were forbid to be exposed to sale. But the queen nevertheless cherished her conceived ill opinion. And that their church therefore was not fit to send either

messenger or letter to the queen, for the regulation of these disorders. But he did earnestly desire, that some might be sent from Zurich; for that theirs was the church alone, by whose authority both the queen and the bishops did seem to be moved. And therefore that by the authority of the magistrate, or at least by their permission and connivance, somebody might be chose out of their congregation, who should go into England for this very cause, and sue to the queen and bishops for a remedy against all these evils. That this would be a truly heroic fact, worthy of their city, and highly grateful to God. That they had a good way through France to Dieppe by a land journey, which they might despatch in eleven days; and from Dieppe into England, with a good wind, in ten hours: and that in their way they might salute and confirm many French churches, and take one or two of the learned of those churches with them. And finally, he pitched upon Rodulf Gualter, in all respects, as the fittest to manage and despatch this matter. So that he might seem to be one sent thither by God's own voice, to refresh the poor brethren, and to preserve the kingdom. Or at least, if they declined this, to send their letter at large both to the queen and bishops, to admonish them to their duty. And he doubted not but a message so godly and charitable would be well taken both by the queen and the godly bishops at least; who, he heard, with the lord keeper, sought for a fit occasion to move for a redress of these things."

In a letter to Dr Grindal, when bishop of London, he also expresses himself with equal freedom and ignorance 'concerning the religious contentions on foot in England, having heard by certain letters sent hence both into France and Germany, concerning divers ministers discharged their parishes, otherwise men of good lives and learning, by the queen, the bishops also consenting, because they refused to subscribe to certain new rites: and that the sum of the queen's commands were, to admit again not only those garments, the signs of Baal's priests in popery,

but also certain rites, which also were degenerated into the worst superstitions; as the signing with the cross, kneeling in the communion, and such like: and, which was still worse, that women should baptize, and that the queen should have a power of superinducing other rites, and that all power should be given to the bishop alone in ordering the matters of the church; and no power, not so much as of complaining, to remain to the pastor of each church. Thus it seems the noncompliers had represented the present condition of our church to those abroad. That learned divine, (as he signified to our bishop,) upon these reports, wrote back to his friends, that the queen's majesty, and many of the learned and religious bishops, had promised far better things; and that a great many of these matters were, at least as it seemed to him, feigned by some evil-meaning men, and wrested some other way: but withal he beseeched the bishop, that they two might confer a little together concerning these things. He knew, as he went on, there was a twofold opinion concerning the restoration of the church: first, of some who thought nothing ought to be added to the apostolical simplicity; and so, that without exception whatsoever the apostles did, ought to be done by us; and whatsoever the Church, that succeeded the apostles, added to the first rites, were to be abolished at once: that on the other side there were some who were of opinion, that certain ancient rites besides ought to be retained; partly as profitable and necessary, partly, if not necessary, yet to be tolerated for concord sake. Then did the aforesaid reverend man proceed to shew at large, why he himself was of opinion with the former sort: and in fine, he said, that he had not yet learned by what right (whether one looks into God's word, or the ancient canons) either the civil magistrate of himself might superinduce any new rites upon the churches already constituted, or abrogate ancient ones; or that it was lawful for bishops to appoint any new thing without the judgment and will of their presbytery. This letter was written the 5th of the calends of July; that is, June the 27th, 1566."

Several other passages might be produced to shew that in Beza's opinion the reformation of the church of England was in principle very different from calvinistic reformation, and that in the opinion of the calvinists popery still adhered to us. The church of Elizabeth's reign was regarded by the pope of the calvinistic reformation, as popish; what would he have thought of the English church as it is now, the subsequent reformations in the reigns of James I, and Charles II, having restored many ancient and catholic practices? But a reformed church, as our's is, preserving the *via media*, must expect to be regarded as ultra-protestant by papists, and as popish by ultra-protestants.

Besides the works already named, Beza published a Latin treatise, *de Divortiis et Repudiis* against Ochinus, who had written in favour of polygamy; *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées du Royaume de France* depuis l'an 1521, jusquea 1563, in 1580; and in the same year *Icones Illustrium Virorum*. In 1588 was published a translation of the Bible by the calvinists of Geneva, in which he had a considerable share.—*Histoire Ecclesiastique*. *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*. *Bayle*. *Strype's Annals and Life of Grindal*.

BIDDLE, JOHN. This unfortunate person was the founder of that sect of heretics in England who denominate themselves Unitarians, but are generally known as Socinians. He was born in 1615, at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire; and was educated at the free-school in that town, where he was patronized by George, lord Berkeley, who allowed him an exhibition of ten pounds a year. In 1634 he was sent to the university of Oxford, and was entered at Magdalen hall. On the 23rd of June, 1638, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and soon after was invited to be master of the school of his native place, but declined it. In 1641, he took his degree of master of arts, and the magistrates of Gloucester

having chosen him master of the free-school of St Mary de Crypt in that city, he settled there, and was much esteemed for his diligence and learning. By no one was his sincerity in the search of truth ever impeached; and he was so diligent a student of the New Testament that, with the exception of a few chapters in the Apocalypse, he learnt the whole by heart both in English and Greek. But his sincerity in acting upon a principle he had received, added to the acuteness of his intellect, led him into errors, from which persons either less honest or with less ability, though receiving the same principle, have happily escaped. He had been taught to despise the authority of the Church, and to receive the Bible, and the Bible only for his religion, relying for the interpretation of the Bible upon his private judgment. "He gave," says Mr Toulmin, "the holy Scriptures a diligent reading, and made use of no other rule to determine controversies about religion than the Scriptures; and of no other authentic interpreter, if a scruple arose concerning the sense of the Scriptures, than *reason*." He was bold and presumptuous in judging of others, for the same biographer informs us, that he "carefully examined the fathers, to ascertain their sentiments concerning the one God;" but that he had a low opinion of their judgment, or of the weight of their testimony, which he used merely as an *argumentum ad hominem*. He thus thoroughly embraced the ultra-protestant principle, and as the author of his life informs us, consistently acted upon it. "Having laid aside the impediments of prejudice, he gave himself liberty to try all things, that he might hold fast that which is good. Thus diligently reading the holy Scriptures (for Socinian books he had read none) he perceived the common doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity was not well grounded in revelation, much less in reason, and being as generous in speaking as free in judging, he did, as occasion offered, discover his reason of questioning it."

Thus was Biddle brought to conclusions which shocked the piety of those who, admitting in theory his principle, had, nevertheless, received the truth by tradition, and maintained it vigorously. He was accused of heresy. His accusers held, as he did, that the Bible, and the Bible only, interpreted according to the view adopted by their private judgment, is the religion of protestants, and yet they accused Biddle of heresy, as if his private judgment were not as good as that of his opponents. If they had accused him of bad logic, their course would have been intelligible; but by heresy is meant any other interpretation of the Bible than that which has been adopted by the catholic Church on points upon which the catholic Church, through general councils, has spoken. By a Catholic he must be regarded as a heretic; by an ultra-protestant only as mistaken, even if mistaken.

The unfortunate Biddle, being summoned before the magistrates, exhibited in writing a confession which was not thought satisfactory; so that he was obliged to exhibit another more explicit than the former, in order to avoid imprisonment with which he was threatened.

But in acting thus he acted disingenuously, for he retained his heretical opinions, and becoming more confirmed in them by a closer study of the Bible only, he drew up "twelve arguments on questions drawn out of the Scripture, wherein the commonly-received opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted." This was his first publication. It was originally drawn up with the intention of printing it privately; but a professed friend having informed the magistrates, and also the parliamentary committee (then in the town) of this project, the unfortunate author, though suffering under a fever, was committed to the common gaol, till parliament should take cognizance of the matter (Dec. 2, 1645.) He was soon after released upon bail, and in 1646 received a visit from archbishop Usher, who was passing through Gloucester on his way to London; but all the

efforts of that great scholar to convince him of his error were unavailing.

The archbishop, indeed, referred to the authority of the Church, but to this Biddle as an ultra-protestant could not defer, he adhered to the Bible, and the Bible only; and as to the interpretation of it, his own interpretation was of equal value with that of any councils or fathers. Edwards, in his *Gangræna*, describes the interview, informing us that the archbishop, "coming through Gloucester, spake with him, and used him with all fairness and pity, as well as strength of arguments, to convince him of his dangerous error. A minister of the city of Gloucester told me, the bishop laboured to convince him, telling him that either he was in a damnable error, or else the whole Church of Christ, who had in all ages worshipped the Holy Ghost, had been guilty of idolatry; but the man was no whit moved either by the learning, gravity, piety, or zeal of the good bishop, but continued obstinate!"

Six months after he had been set at liberty he was summoned to appear at Westminster, and the parliament appointed a committee to examine him; before whom he freely confessed, that he did not acknowledge the commonly received notion of the divinity of the Holy Ghost; but that he was nevertheless ready to hear what could be urged against him, and if he could not maintain his opinion he would honestly confess his error. But being wearied with tedious and expensive delays, he wrote a letter to sir Henry Vane, a member of the committee, requesting him either to procure his discharge, or to make a report of his case to the house of commons. The result of this was his being committed to the custody of one of their officers, which restraint continued for five years. He was at length referred to the assembly of divines then sitting at Westminster, before whom he often appeared, and gave them in writing his twelve arguments, which were published the same year. Upon their publication he was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons;

where being asked, whether he owned this treatise, and the opinions therein, he answered in the affirmative. Upon this he was committed to prison, and the house ordered, on the 6th of September, 1647, that the book should be called in and burnt by the hangman, and the author be examined by the committee of plundered ministers; and it was accordingly burnt the 8th of the same month. But Mr Biddle drew a greater storm upon himself by two tracts he published in the year 1648, "A confession of faith touching the Holy Trinity according to the Scripture; and the testimonies of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Novatianus, Theophilus, Origen. As also of Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Hilary, and Brightman; concerning the one God, and the Persons of the Holy Trinity, together with observations on the same." As soon as they were published the assembly of divines solicited the parliament, and procured an ordinance, *inflicting death* upon those that held opinions contrary to the received doctrine concerning the Trinity, and severe penalties on those who differed in lesser matters. These persons, it will be remembered, were ultra-protestants and dissenters: men professing liberality. And these are the men whom the enemies of the Church hold up to the public as models, while they represent Laud, and the churchmen of his day, as tyrants. The Romish persecutors under Gardiner and Bonner are justly held up to execration, by the most enlightened even among the Romanists; but in what, so far as intention was concerned, did they differ from these dissenting divines, who would punish with death all who drew conclusions from Scripture different from their own deductions, but according to their own principles? That the fires of persecution did not rage so furiously is to be attributed, not to the generous feelings of the Westminster divines, but to the fact that there had taken place a change in the spirit of the age; and while men were ready to persecute, they were not prepared to subject themselves to such a tribunal

as this ultra-protestant Inquisition would have been. The ordinance, dated May 2, 1648, declared all such persons guilty of felony, as should “willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publish, that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that He is not almighty, that He is not perfectly holy, or that He is not eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, and the Holy Ghost is not God, or that they Three are not one eternal God: or that shall in like manner maintain and publish, that Christ is not God, equal with the Father; or shall deny the Manhood of Christ, or that the Manhood or Godhead of Christ are several natures, or that the Humanity of Christ is not pure and unspotted of all sin; or that shall maintain and publish, as aforesaid, that Christ did not die, nor rise from the dead, nor is ascended into heaven bodily; or that shall deny His death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that shall maintain and publish, as aforesaid, that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God; or that the Holy Scripture, of the Old and New Testament, is not the words of God; or that the bodies of men, after they are dead, shall not rise again; or that there is no day of judgment after death. All such persons, upon complaint and proof made of the same, before any two of the next justices of the peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witnesses, or confession of the party; the said party so accused shall be by the said justices committed to prison without bail or mainprise, until the next gaol-delivery, and the witnesses bound over to give their evidence at the said gaol-delivery; at which time the party shall be indicted for felonious publishing and maintaining such error. And in case the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall *suffer the pains of death*, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy; but in case he shall recant, he shall nevertheless

remain in prison, until he finds two sureties to be bound with him, before two or more justices of the peace, that he shall not thenceforth publish or maintain the said errors any more, and the justices shall have power to take bail. And if any person indicted formerly for maintaining and publishing erroneous opinions, shall again publish and maintain the same, he shall suffer *death*, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy."

The ordinance further enjoins, that all persons who should publish or maintain, "That all men shall be saved; or that man by nature hath free-will to turn to God; or that God may be worshipped in or by pictures or images; or that the soul of any man after death goeth to purgatory; or that revelations, or the workings of the Spirit, are a rule of faith or Christian life, though diverse from, or contrary to, the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend; or that the moral law of God, contained in the Ten Commandments, is no rule of Christian life; or that a believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of sins; or that the two Sacraments are not commanded by the word of God, or are unlawful; or that the churches of England are no true churches, nor their ministers and ordinances true ministers and ordinances; or that the church government by presbytery is unchristian or unlawful; or that all use of arms, though for the public defence, (and be the cause never so just) is unlawful:—that all persons, who should publish or maintain any of the said errors, and be convicted thereof, should be ordered to renounce them in the public congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint comes, or where the offence was committed. And in case of refusal, to be committed to prison by two of the next justices, until he find two sufficient sureties, that he shall not maintain or publish the said errors any more."

This ordinance was published in 1648, 4to, and is preserved in the Introduction prefixed to an edition of Fr. Cheynell's Chillingworthi Novissima; the author of

which Introduction justly observes, that though “the presbyterians were possessed of their power but a very short time, yet in that space they were for carrying their ecclesiastical tyranny beyond what themselves charged on their former oppressors.”

The dissensions by which parliament was at this time torn seem to have prevented the ordinance from being carried into effect; and to this we may add the hostility of the rebel army, many of whom, both officers and soldiers were liable to its severities. If the army and the dissenting divines had been united, there would indeed have been a reign of terror far worse than that of queen Mary. Biddle was, nevertheless, kept in confinement, although the severity of it was not long after mitigated, and he was even permitted to travel into Staffordshire, when he became chaplain to a justice of the peace, who at his death left him a legacy; but this indulgence coming to the knowledge of Bradshaw, a closer degree of confinement was the consequence. He now languished for several years in prison, until he was reduced to the greatest indigence, but at last he obtained employment in correcting the press for Daniel’s edition of the Septuagint, by which he obtained a comfortable subsistence. At length, in 1654, he obtained his liberty under the General Act of Oblivion, passed in that year, and immediately established a separate society of the converts to his doctrines, to whom he regularly preached every Sunday. This prosperous state of things, however, was but of short continuance; a catechism which he published in 1654, falling into the hands of some of the members of Oliver Cromwell’s parliament, which met September 3, 1654, a complaint was made against it in the house of commons. Upon this the author being brought to the bar in the beginning of December, and asked, whether he wrote that book? he answered by asking, whether it seemed reasonable, that one brought before a judgment-seat as a criminal, should accuse himself? After some debates and resolutions, he was on the 13th of December com-

mitted close prisoner to the Gatehouse. A bill likewise was ordered to be brought in for punishing him; but, after about six months' imprisonment, he obtained his liberty in the court of upper bench, by due course of law. About a year after another no less formidable danger overtook him, by his engaging in a dispute with one Griffin, an anabaptist teacher. Many of Griffin's congregation having embraced Biddle's opinions concerning the Trinity, he thought the best way to stop the spreading of such errors, would be openly to confute his tenets. For this purpose he challenged Biddle to a public disputation at his meeting in the Stone Chapel in St Paul's cathedral, on this question, "Whether Jesus Christ be the Most High or Almighty God?" Biddle would have declined the dispute, but was obliged to accept it. And the two antagonists having met amongst a numerous audience, Griffin repeated the question, asking if any man there did deny, that Christ was God Most High. To which Biddle absolutely answered, I do deny it. And by this open profession gave his adversaries the opportunity of a positive and clear accusation, of which advantage was soon taken. But Griffin being baffled, the disputation was deferred till another day, when Biddle was to take his turn of proving the negative of the question. In the meanwhile, Griffin and his party, not thinking themselves a match for a man of such ability as Biddle, accused him of fresh blasphemies, and procured an order from the protector to apprehend him on the 3rd of July, (being the day before the intended second disputation) and to commit him to the Compter. He was afterwards sent to Newgate, and ordered to be tried for his life the next sessions, on the ordinance against blasphemy. However, the protector not choosing to have him either condemned or dissolved, took him out of the hands of the law, and detained him in prison, and at length being wearied with receiving petitions for and against him, banished him to St Mary's castle, in the Isle of Scilly, whither he was sent in the beginning of October, 1655. During this exile he

employed himself in studying several intricate matters particularly the Revelation of St John. About the beginning of the year 1658, the protector, through the intercession of many friends, suffered a writ of habeas corpus to be granted out of the upper bench court, whereby the prisoner was brought back, and nothing being laid to his charge, he was set at liberty. Upon his return to London he became the pastor of an independent meeting. But it did not continue long in town, for Oliver Cromwell dying September the 3rd, 1658, his son Richard called a parliament consisting chiefly of presbyterians, whom of all men Biddle most dreaded: he therefore retired privately into the country.

The troubles of Biddle did not cease with the restoration of the king. Although no ordinance was then passed to doom to death those who dissented from the established religion, the time had not yet arrived when the doctrine of toleration was understood. To hold a meeting-house was illegal, and of this illegal act Biddle, who was narrowly watched, was found guilty, and he was apprehended, with a few members of his congregation, on the 1st of June, 1662. They were carried before a justice of peace, who committed them all to prison, where they lay until the recorder took security for their answering to the charge brought against them at the next sessions. But the court not being then able to find a statute upon which to form any criminal indictment, they were referred to the sessions following, and proceeded against at common law. Each of the hearers was fined twenty pounds, Mr Biddle one hundred, and they were to be committed to prison till the fine was paid. There he contracted a disease which terminated fatally on the 22nd of September, 1662, in the 47th year of his age.—*Wood. Farrington. Toulmin. Biog. Brit.*

BILNEY, THOMAS, was born at Norfolk, and educated at Trinity hall, Cambridge, in the reign of Henry VIII. It appears from his own statement, that his aspirations after

liness were most fervent, and that to abolish the whole body of sin was the desire of his heart. But his body being feeble, he became morbid in his mind and melancholy. In the history of our Church there is not a worse period than that which preceded the reformation, and which rendered the reformation necessary: and Bilney, though he carefully sought it, found no help from the church. There were good men at that time in the church of England, to whom he might have opened his grief, and who would have administered to his devoted yet morbid soul, the consolation he required; but he fell into bad hands, "unlearned hearers of confession," as he calls them, who, seeking their own gain rather than the salvation of his "sick and languishing soul," appointed him "fastings, watching, buying of pardons, masses," and robbed him both of his strength and his money. But by the providence of God, Erasmus's Latin version of the New Testament was placed in his hands; and making this his study, he learned how to apply to his soul that comfort which the hearers of confession, through their wickedness or ignorance, were unable to apply. And having found comfort to his own soul, with all the enthusiasm of his nature, he sought to provide for other souls pining for comfort, the remedy he had found so efficacious himself. He was wild, eccentric, enthusiastic, and such a one was sure to make converts. Among the converts of Bilney was Hugh Latimer, who afterwards bore a prominent part in the reformation. That there was depth as well as fervour in his teaching, is proved by the fact that among his most devoted admirers was the staid and careful Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Bilney's attack was not directed against the church of England, but against certain evil practices existing in the church: the sum of his preaching and doctrine, as Fox admits, proceeded chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust in men's merits, and such points as "seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ." As touching

the mass and sacrament of the altar, according to the same writer, he never varied or "differed therein," as Fox states it, "from the most grossest catholics."

The treatment Bilney received, under these circumstances, was unjustifiable in the extreme. But, as now or less learned bishops are sometimes found to treat with severity those who distinguish between what absolute pertains to our Church, and the abuses which ultra-protestantism has introduced, so then the prelates of our venerable establishment confounded the Romanism mixed up with the church system, with the church itself, and put in force the law, in order to silence those who endeavoured to distinguish between the wheat and the chaff.

Bilney preached so earnestly in the neighbourhood of London against pilgrimages, invocations of saints, and other corruptions, that the more determined votaries of Romanism in our church began to cry out against him that he ought to be put down: there was an uproar against the bishops, and the bishops prepared to act with decision. Bilney was prosecuted for heresy in the year 1527, before Tonstall, bishop of London. After certain questions had been put to him, and depositions received on preceding days, we are informed by Fox, that the bishop of London, with certain other bishops, his assistants, assembled in the Chapter-house of Westminster whither also master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant: but he answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London with the other bishops, ex officio published the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself, whether he would return to the Church, and renounce his opinions or no, and bade him to depart into a private place, and there to deliberate with himself. Which done, the bishop asked him again if he would return. But he answered, *Fiat justitia, et judicium*

in nomine Domini : and being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but *Fiat justitia, &c.* And *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus and lætemur in ea*, [psalm 118.] Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said ; In nomine Patris and Filis and Spiritus Sancti. Amen. *Exurgat Deus and dissipentur inimici ejus* : and making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the council of the other bishops, he gave sentence against master Bilney, being there present, in this manner.

“ I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy ; and for the rest of the sentence, we take deliberation till tomorrow.”

The fifth day of December the bishops assembled there again ; before whom Bilney was brought, whom the bishop asked if he would yet return to the unity of the Church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, “ that he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the Church ; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him : ” which witnesses, the bishop said came too late ; for after publication, they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the unity of the Church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one of the clock at the afternoon of the same day.

At afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the Church and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses : which was refused. Then

the bishop once again required of him whether he would turn to the Catholic Church. Whereunto he answered that if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convict, he would yield and submit himself, and desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses ; and other answer he would give none.

Then the bishop put master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows ; and afterward calling in master Bilney, asked him again whether he would abjure : but he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the law ; and inquiring again whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No, and desired to have time to consult with his friends in whom his trust was : and being once again asked whether he would return, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read ; he required the bishop to give him license to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with master Dancaster ; but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with masters Farmar and master Dancaster. But the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal ; but at the last, the bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate : that is to say, till Saturday at nine of the clock before noon, and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premises.

The seventh day of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared. Whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the Church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was per-

suaded by master Dancaſter and other his friends, he would ſubmit himſelf, truſting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration, and penance. Then he deſired that he might read his abjuration; which the biſhop granted. When he had read the ſame ſecretly by himſelf, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premises, he answered, that he would abjure and ſubmit himſelf, and there openly read his abjuration, and ſubſcribed it, and delivered it to the biſhop, which then did abſolve him: and for his penance enjoined him, that he ſhould abide in the priſon, appointed by the cardinal, till he were by him released: and moreover that the next day he ſhould go before the proceſſion, in the cathedral church of St Paul, bare-headed, with a fagot on his ſhoulder, and ſhould ſtand before the preacher at Paul's Croſs, all the ſermon time."

Bilney went back to Cambridge. His melancholy returned. His miſery was great. He reſuſed to be comforted. He thought that he had denied Chriſt. His meals were taken without appetite. The attentions of his friends were received with apathy. He found no comfort in religion. He viewed himſelf as an apoſtate and a reprobate. The burden was intolerable, and he determined to ſhake it off. Entering the college hall one night, he bade farewell to certain of his friends, and told them he had ſet his face to go to Jeruſalem. His meaning was ſoon apparent, for when he was next heard of, he was in Norfolk, where, firſt among his family connexions, and afterwards openly in the fields, he boldly preached the doctrines he had once abjured. As he probably expected and deſired, his exertions led to his apprehenſion, and being again convicted of heresy, he was ſentenced to the ſtake. The account of his laſt moments ſhall be taken from Fox, who, though ſeldom to be depended upon, aſſerts that he had "diligently ſearched out and procured the true certificate of maſter Bilney's burning, with all the circumſtances and points thereto belonging." He tells us that Thomas Bilney after his examination and condemna-

tion before Dr Pelles, doctor of law and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to the custom of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept, concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint Magnus day and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom one of the said friends finding him eating of an alebrew with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "Oh, said he, I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up; and so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see." Then sitting with his said friends in godly talk, to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, "Oh,"

(said he) "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And here he much entreated of this place of Scripture, (Isaiah 43.) "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel." Which he did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present, of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be fair written in tables, and some in their books. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the manner is) with their gleaves and halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollard's pit, under Saint Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills (which place was chosen for the people's quiet sitting to see the execution) at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him and prayed him in God's behalf, to be constant and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the trou-

blous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort, the perils which he feeleth : so am I now toward this sailing, and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven ; as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he, going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way, by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one Dr Warner, doctor of divinity and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little simple body in person, but always of a good upright countenance) and drew near to the stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and then standing, thus he said :

" Good people, I am come hither to die, and born as I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man in a right belief toward Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith, the articles of my creed ;" and then began to rehearse them in order as they be in the common creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God ; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word crucified, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence ; and then proceeded in the articles, and coming to these words, I believe in the Catholic Church, there he paused and spake these words " Good people, I must here confess to have offended the Church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the

same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing that they had no sermon there of long time before ; and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the Church by whom I was prohibited : howbeit I trust at the general day, charity that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment seat of God :” and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterwards stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143rd psalm, beginning, Hear my prayer O Lord, consider my desire : and the next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice : and enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified : and so finishing that psalm he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, yes. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him ; and standing thereon, the said doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, which spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, “O master doctor, pasce gregem tuum, pasce gregem tuum, ut cum venerit, Dominus, inveniatur te sic facientem. That is, feed your

flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh, He may find you so doing: and farewell good master doctor and pray for me:" and so he departed without any answer sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake certain friars, doctors and priors of their houses being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation,) came to him and said; "O master Bilney the people be persuaded that we be the cause of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said; "I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reed and fagots about his body and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding up his hands and knocking upon his breast crying sometimes Jesus, sometimes Credo. Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind which was that day and two or three days before notably great, in which it was said that the fields were marvelously plagued by the loss of corn: and so for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him: and then he gave up the ghost and his body being withered bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halberd smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it and so he was consumed.

The following remarks are made by Jeremy Collier: "Sir Thomas More is positive, that before he suffered he

recanted in form, and received absolution and the sacrament from the bishop's clergy. Fox denies this recantation, and endeavours to disprove More: but then he writes out of his talent, and rallies somewhat untowardly. He charges this gentleman, then lord chancellor, with insincerity; but gives up the main cause. He supposes Bilney's receiving absolution, and confessing his sins to one of the bishop's priests, does not imply the retracting his former opinions. But here it must be granted, Fox fails in his reasoning: for when a person is charged with heresy, and prosecuted to proof, it was never the custom of any church to absolve him without a previous recantation.

"Fox goes farther in his concessions: he supposes Bilney might hear mass, and receive the sacrament in the church of Rome, without recanting his tenets. Nay, he believes he did receive the sacrament. This acknowledgment makes all Fox's conjectures insignificant, and destroys the force of his counter evidence. For we may be assured, he would never have been admitted to the holy Eucharist, had he not been reconciled to their communion. But he has one remark upon sir Thomas More's narrative, which has more weight in it: and here he puts somewhat of a hard question. Why did they burn him after his recantation? By going this length, he was no heretic; why then should he suffer the penalties of heresy? But then Fox's saying this was only an ecclesiastical law, is a mistake. For by act of parliament, those who relapsed into heresy were to be burned in terrorem. Thus it may be the Church could not help it; and therefore the rigour of the execution must be thrown upon the state. It is true, some casuists affirm, that it is in the power of the spiritual court to wink at the proof of a person thus prosecuted, and not pronounce him relapsed. And here the canon lawyers are almost at a loss; some affirm, that the ecclesiastical judge is under no necessity of putting a heretic relapsed into the hands of the secular magistrate, and that he may mitigate

the rigour of this punishment, and commute it to perpetual confinement in the Bishop's prison. But there must be some colour of defect in the evidence, make way for this favour: for when the proof is clear and demonstrative against the criminal, it is not in the Church's power to preserve him."—*Fox. Wordsworth Soames. Strype. Collier.*

BILSON, THOMAS, was born at Winchester, 1547, being of German descent. He was educated at Winchester college, and was elected to New college in 1565. In 1571 he took his M.A. degree, and then returned to Winchester as head-master. Winchester school under Bilson maintained that high character which it has ever supported since the days of its founder, William of Wykeham; and by the fellows of the college he was in due time elected the warden. The comparative leisure he enjoyed as warden though he still superintended the discipline of the school was employed by Bilson in laying up those stores of sound divinity, which have secured for him a prominent place among English theologians. "From schoolmaster of Winchester," says sir John Harrington, "he became warden; and having been infinitely studious and industrious in poetry, in philosophy, in physic, and lastly (which his genius chiefly called him to) in divinity, he became so complete for skill in languages, for readiness in the fathers, for judgment to make use of his readings that he was found to be no longer a soldier, but a commander-in-chief in our spiritual warfare;"—"especially when he became a bishop," adds Anthony Wood, "and carried prelature in his very aspect."

In 1585 he published "The True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion:" in this work his zeal to defend queen Elizabeth involved him in an inconsistency, for while he maintained her cause against the papists who were plotting against the throne; he also defended her own interference in the Low Countries, to save the protestant population from

sinking under the power of their old master the king of Spain : nevertheless the work is one of very considerable value, as shewing the course pursued by our reformers, (and Bilson may almost be reckoned among them himself) against Romanists on the one hand, and ultra-protestants on the other. We give as a specimen, his protest against the adoption of the title of catholic, by the Roman church :—

PHILANDER. (Romanist.) What one point of our religion is not catholic ?

THEOPHILUS. (Anglican.) No one point of that, which this realm hath refused, is truly catholic. Your having and adoring of images in the church : your public service in a tongue not understood of the people : your gazing on the priest while he alone eateth and drinketh at the Lord's table : your barring the people from the Lord's cup : your sacrificing the Son of God to His Father for the sins of the world : your adoring the elements of bread and wine with Divine honour instead of Christ : your seven sacraments : your shrift : your releasing souls out of purgatory by prayers and pardons : your compelling priests to live single : your meritorious vowing and performing pilgrimages : your invocation of saints departed : your rules of perfection for monks and friars : your relying on the pope as head of the Church, and vicar-general unto Christ : these with infinite other superstitions in action, and errors in doctrine, we deny to have any foundation in the Scriptures, or confirmation in the general consent or use of the catholic Church.

PHI. We stick not on your words, which you utter to your most advantage : but be not these things as we defend them, and you reject them, catholic ?

THEO. Nothing less.

PHI. What count you catholic ?

THEO. You were best define that : it touchest you nearest.

PHI. I mean catholic, as Vincentius doth, that wrote more than one thousand one hundred years ago.

THEO. So do I. And in that sense no point of your religion, which this realm hath refused, is catholic.

PHI. All.

THEO. None.

PHI. These are but brag.

THEO. Indeed they are so. Nothing is more common in your mouths than catholic: and in your faith nothing less.

PHI. Who proveth that?

THEO. Yourselves, who after you have made great stir for catholic, catholic, and all catholic, when you come to issue, you return it with a *non est inventus*.

PHI. Will you lie a little?

THEO. I might use that sometimes, which is so often with you: but in this I do not.

PHI. I say you do.

THEO. That will appear, if you take any of those points which I have rehearsed.

PHI. Which you will.

THEO. Nay, the choice shall be yours, because the proof must be yours.

PHI. Take them as they lie. Having and worshipping of images in the church, is it not catholic?

THEO. It is not.

PHI. Eight hundred years ago the general council of Nice, the second, decreed it lawful, and ever since it hath been used.

THEO. Catholic should have four conditions by Vincentius' rule, and this hath not one of them. There can nothing be catholic, unless it be confirmed two ways: first by the authority of God's law, and next by the tradition of the catholic Church; not that the canon of Scripture is not perfect and sufficient enough for all points of faith, but because many men draw and stretch the Scriptures to their fancies, therefore it is very needful that the line of the prophetic and apostolical interpretation should be directed by the rule of the ecclesiastical and catholic sense. Now in the catholic Church herse

we must take heed we hold that which hath been believed at all times, in all places, of all persons, for that is truly and properly catholic.

“By this rule your erecting and adoring of images in the Church is not catholic. For first, it is prohibited by God’s law: and where the text goeth against you, the gloss cannot help you. If there be no precept for it in the word of God, in vain do you seek in the Church for the catholic sense and interpretation of that which is nowhere found in the Scriptures. If it be not prophetic nor apostolical, it cannot be catholic nor ecclesiastical.

“Again, how hath this been always in the Church, which was first decreed seven hundred and eighty years after Christ? It is too young to be catholic that began so late; you must go nearer Christ and His apostles, if you will have it catholic or ancient.

“Thirdly; all places and persons did not admit the decrees of that council. For besides Africa, and Asia the greater, which never received them, the churches of England, France, and Germany did contradict and refute both their actions and reasons. And in Greece itself not long before, a synod of 330 bishops at Constantinople condemned as well the suffering as reverencing of images.”

Again, on the eucharistic sacrifice, Philander asserts, “all the fathers with one consent stand on our side for the sacrifice,” and Theophilus replies, “You be now where you would be; and where the fathers seem to fit your feet. But if your sacrifice be convinced to be nothing less than catholic or consequent to the prophets’, apostles’, or fathers’ doctrine, what say you then to your vanity in alleging, if not impiety in abusing, so many fathers and Scriptures to prop up your follies? . . . Let it therefore first appear what they teach touching the sacrifice of the Lord’s table, and what we admit: and then it will soon be seen which of us twain hath departed from them. The fathers with one consent call not your private mass, that they never knew, but the Lord’s Supper, a

sacrifice, which we both willingly grant and openly teach so their text, not your gloss may prevail. For there besides the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which we must then offer to God for our redemption and other His graces bestowed on us in Christ His Son: besides the dedication of our souls and bodies to be a reasonable, quick, and holy sacrifice to serve and please Him: besides the contributions and alms there given in the primitive church for the relief of the poor and other good uses,— sacrifice no doubt very acceptable to God: I say besides these three sundry sorts of offerings incident to the Lord's table, the very Supper itself is a public memorial of that great and dreadful sacrifice, I mean, of the death and blood-shedding of our Saviour."

It was in the year 1593 that Bilson published his great work, the ablest and most complete ever published on the apostolical succession and the doctrine of episcopacy, under the title of "The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church." It is a work valuable in itself, and peculiarly valuable in these days, when these great truths are spoken of as if they were modern innovations. This, indeed Bilson himself refutes, as it is on the ground of antiquity as well as of Scripture that he maintains them. The work is also useful in shewing how those who immediately succeeded the first reformers, and who, for the alterations they made in the Prayer Book in the reign of James I. may be called reformers themselves, deferred to the fathers, and called in the aid of tradition, in order to interpret the Scriptures rightly. As a specimen of this work we may quote the commencement of chap. xiii.

"Before I demonstrate the vocation and function of bishops to be apostolic, the ambiguity of the name of bishop, and community of many things incident and appertinent both to bishops and presbyters, urge me to lay down and deliver certain peculiar marks and parts of the bishop's power and office, whereby they are always distinguished from presbyters, and never confounded with them."

either in Scriptures, councils, or fathers. Prerogatives there were many appropriate unto them by the authority of the canons and custom of the Church: as, reconciling of penitents, confirmation of infants and others that were baptized by laying on their hands, dedication of churches, and such like; but these tended as Jerome saith, “to the honour of their priesthood rather than to the necessity of any law.” The things proper to bishops, which might not be common to presbyters, were singularity in succeeding and superiority in ordaining. These two, the Scriptures and fathers reserve only to bishops; they never communicate them unto presbyters. In every church and city there might be many presbyters; there could be but one chief to govern the rest: the presbyters for need might impose hands on penitents and infants; but by no means might they ordain bishops or ministers of the word and sacraments.

“Neither are these, trifling differences, or devised by me. The external unity and perpetuity of the Church depend wholly on these. As to avoid schisms, bishops were first appointed; so to maintain the churches in unity, the singularity of one pastor over each flock is commended in the Scriptures. And as bishops preserve the unity of each church, in that there may be but one in a place, so they continue the same unto perennity, by ordaining such as shall both help them living and succeed them dying.”

He then establishes his position by references to St Cyprian and other fathers at considerable length, and proceeds:—“This is a certain rule to distinguish bishops from presbyters; the presbyters were many in every church, of whom the presbytery consisted. Bishops were always singular; that is, one in a city and no more, except another intruded, (which the Church of Christ counted a schism, and would never communicate with any such;) or else an helper were given in respect of extreme and feeble age; in which case, the power of the latter ceased in the presence of the former. And this singularity of one pastor in each place descended from the apostles and their

scholars in all the famous churches of the world, by a perpetual chair of succession, and doth to this day continue but where abomination or desolation, I mean heresy or violence, interrupt it. Of this there is so perfect record in all the stories and fathers of the Church, that I much muse with what face men that have any taste of learning can deny the vocation of bishops came from the apostles. For if their succession be apostolic, their function cannot choose but be likewise apostolic; and that they succeeded the apostles and evangelists in their churches and chairs may inevitably be proved, if any Christian persons or churches deserve to be credited.

“The second assured sign of episcopal power, is imposition of hands to ordain presbyters and bishops; for as pastors were to have some to assist them in their charges which were presbyters, so were they to have others to succeed them in their places which were bishops. And this right by imposing hands to ordain presbyters and bishops in the Church of Christ, was first derived from the apostles unto bishops, and not unto presbyters; and hath for these fifteen hundred years, without example or instance to the contrary, till this our age, remained in bishops and not in presbyters. Philip ‘preached and baptized’ at Samaria; but he could not give the graces of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands to make fit pastors and teachers for the work of the ministry; the apostles were forced to come from Jerusalem to furnish the church of Samaria with meet men to labour in the word and doctrine. The like we find by Paul and Barnabas in the Acts; who visited the churches where they had preached, and supplied them “with presbyters” in every place that wanted. Paul left Titus to do the like in Crete; and Timothy was sent to Ephesus to impose hands, notwithstanding the church there had presbyters long before. Jerome, where he stretcheth the presbyter’s office to the uttermost, of purpose to shew that he may do by the word of God as much as the bishop, excepteth this one point as unlawful for presbyters by the Scriptures: ‘What

doth a bishop, save ordination, which a presbyter may not do?' He saith not, What doth a bishop, which a presbyter doth not? for by the custom and canons of the Church, very many things were forbidden presbyters, which by God's word they might do; but he appealeth to God's ordinance, which in his commentaries upon Titus he calleth the 'divine institution;' and by that he confesseth it was not lawful for presbyters to ordain any. And why? That power was reserved to the apostles, and such as succeeded them, not generally in the Church, but specially in the chair."

He again refers to the fathers at considerable length, and remarks with reference to Epiphanius, "I can see no cause why some writers in our days should discredit the report and reason, which Epiphanius maketh against Aerius, that a presbyter could not be equal with a bishop; forsomuch as the order of bishops 'engendereth fathers unto the Church;' and the order of presbyters, 'not able to beget fathers, by the regeneration of baptism begetteth children unto the Church, but not fathers or teachers, and so no possibility to make a presbyter that hath not received power to impose hands, equal with a bishop. For what doth Epiphanius avouch in these words, which Athanasius, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Ambrose do not likewise avouch? or what saith he more than the primitive church in her general and provincial councils decreed against Colluthus, Maximus, and others; and observed without alteration ever since the apostles died? If we reject this assertion of Epiphanius, that only bishops should impose hands to ordain, and not presbyters, we reject the whole Church of Christ, which interpreted the Scriptures in this behalf as Epiphanius did; and confirmed the very same resolution with the continual practice of all ages and countries where the gospel hath been preached and believed: for by power to ordain, the Christian world hath always distinguished bishops from presbyters, as it is easy to be seen by all the monuments of antiquity that

are extant to this day, either of councils, stories, or fathers."

As some readers feel an interest in knowing who were the first successors of the apostles, we shall lengthen our quotations by the following extract :

"Eusebius, the first and best collector of ancient and ecclesiastical monuments (Egesippus and Clemens being lost), deriveth the successions of bishops in the four principal churches of the world, Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, from the apostles' age unto his own time : by which, as by a line, we may be directed to see what manner of episcopal successions the rest of the churches had ; and from whom the first original of bishops descended. I will set them down as it were in a table even from the apostles and their followers, unto the time they met in the great council of Nice, about 320 years after Christ.

"In the Church of

JERUSALEM.	ANTIOCH.	ROME.	ALEXANDRIA.
James the apostle	Peter the apostle	Peter and Paul	Mark the evangelist
Simeon	Euodius	Linus	Anianus
Justus	Ignatius	Anacletus	Abilius
Zacheus	Heros	Clemens	Cerdo
Tobias	Cornelius	Evaristus	Primus
Benjamin	Eros	Alexander	Justus
Johannes	Theophilus	Sixtus	Eumenes
Mathias	Maximinus	Thelesphorus	Marcus
Philippus	Serapion	Higinus	Celadion
Sennecas	Asclepiades	Pius	Agrippas
Justus	Philetos	Anicetus	Julianus
Levi	Zebinus	Soter	Demetrius
Ephrem	Babilas	Eleutherius	Heraclas
Joseph	Fabius	Victor	Dionysius
Judas	Demetrius	Zepherinus	Maximus
Marcus	Paulus Samosatenus	Calixtus	Theonas
Cassianus	Domnus	Urbanus	Petrus
Publius	Timeus	Pontianus	Achilles
Maximus	Cyrillus	Anterus	Alexander
Julianus	Tyrannus	Fabianus	Athanasius

"In the Church of

JERUSALEM.	ANTIOCH.	ROME.	ALEXANDRIA.
Caius	Vitalius	Cornelius	Petrus
Symmachus	Philagonius	Lucius	Timothius
Caius	<i>Eustathius</i>	Stephanus	Theophilus
Julianus	Paulinus and Miletius	Xistus Dionysius	Cyrillus."
Capito	Flavianus	Felix	
Maximus	Porphyrius	Eutichianus	
Antoninus	Alexander	Caius	
Valens	Johannes'	Marcellinus	
Dolichianus		Marcellus	
Narcissus		Eusebius	
Dius		Meltiades	
Germanion		<i>Sylvester</i>	
Gordius		Marcus	
Narcissus iterum		<i>Julius</i>	
Alexander		Liberius	
Mazabanes		Damasus	
Hymeneus		Siricius	
Zambdas		Anastasius"	
Hermon			
<i>Macarius</i>			
Maximus			
Cyrillus			
Johannes			
Juvenalis"			

He substantiates all these assertions by reference to the early writers, and sums up by saying, "if Christian writers may deserve credit with us, we have the sincerest and eldest clearly witnessing and confirming unto us, that the apostles when they saw their time approaching, placed of their scholars and followers one in every church (which they planted) to be bishop and pastor of the place; and that the successions of bishops so placed by the apostles, endured in all the apostolic churches even to the times that they wrote and testified thus much. Neither speak they of these things by hearsay; they lived with the apostles' scholars, and received from their mouths the things which they witness to posterity; and their successors in most churches they saw with their eyes, and conferred with them. Irenæus, that in his youth was Polycarp's scholar,

saith : "We can reckon those which were ordained bishops in the churches by the apostles and their successors even to our age. If the apostles had known any hid mysteries which they taught to the perfect, secretly and apart from the rest, they would most of all have delivered those things to such as they committed the churches unto. For they greatly desired to have them perfect and unreprouable in all things, whom they left to be their successors delivering unto them their own place of teaching.' Egesippus lived at the same time somewhat elder than Irenæus and travelling to Rome under Anicetus, he conferred with Primus, bishop of Corinth, and divers other bishops as he went, and found them all agreeing in one and the same doctrine."

If the reader desires to find an answer to almost every objection urged by the ignorant against these doctrines at the present day, they will find it in the concluding portion of this chapter of the *Perpetual Government*.

While Bilson was warden of Winchester he obtained a stall in the cathedral church : he was also consecrated to the see of Worcester in 1596. But his separation from Winchester was not of long continuance, for to the see of Winton he was translated the following year. While bishop of Winchester he was involved in some controversy by his denunciation, when preaching at St Paul's cross in 1597, of certain calvinistic heresies ; but more particularly by his declining to defer to the opinions of such men as Calvin and Beza, or any other foreign divine. An account of the controversy may be found in Strype's life of archbishop Whitgift.

At the commencement of the reign of James I, bishop Bilson was one of the managers of the conference at Hampton court, and though he did not speak much, yet what he said was to the point. The discussion on the subject of lay-baptism, which was at that time sanctioned by the church of England, and objected to, it may be

supposed for the mere sake of objecting by the puritans, was opened by archbishop Whitgift.

The following is Barlow's account: "The lord archbishop proceeded to speak of private baptism; shewing his majesty, that the administration of baptism by women and lay-persons was not allowed in the practice of the Church, but enquired of by bishops in their visitation, and censured; neither do the words in the book infer any such meaning. Whereunto the king excepted, urging and pressing the words of the book, that they could not but intend a permission, and suffering of women and private persons to baptize. Here the bishop of Worcester said, that indeed the words were doubtful, and might be pressed to that meaning; but yet it seemed by the contrary practice of our church (censuring women in this case) that the compilers of the book did not so intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguously, because otherwise perhaps the book would not have then passed in the parliament, (and for this conjecture, as I remember, he cited the testimony of my lord archbishop of York) whereunto the bishop of London replied, that those learned and reverend men, who framed the book of common prayer, intended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any, but did indeed by those words intend a permission of private persons to baptize, in case of necessity, whereof their letters were witnesses: some parts whereof he then read, and withal declared that the same was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church; urging to that purpose, both Acts ii, where three thousand were baptized on one day, which for the apostles alone to do, was impossible, at least improbable; and besides the apostles, there were then no bishops or priests: and also the authority of Tertullian, and St Ambrose in the fourth to the Ephesians, plain in that point; laying also open the absurdities and impieties of their opinion, who think there is no necessity of baptism. Which word necessity, he so pressed not, as if God without baptism could not save the child: but the case put, that the state of the infant dying unbaptized

being uncertain, and to God only known; but if it did baptize, there is an evident assurance that it is saved who is he that having any religion in him, would not speedily, by any means, procure his child to be baptized, and rather ground his action upon Christ's promise, than his omission thereof upon God's secret judgment.

“His majesty replied, first to that place of the Acts ‘that it was an act extraordinary, neither is it sound reasoning from things done before a church be settled and grounded, unto those which are to be performed in a church established and flourishing. That he also maintained the necessity of baptism, and always thought, that the place of St John, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, &c.* was meant of the Sacrament of Baptism, and that he had so defended it against some ministers in Scotland. And it may seem strange to you, my lord, said his majesty, that I, who now think you in England give too much to baptism, did fourteen months ago in Scotland argue with my divines there for ascribing too little to that Holy Sacrament: insomuch that a pert minister asked me, if I thought baptism so necessary, that if it were omitted, the child should be damned: I answered him, No; ‘but if you, being called to baptize the child, though privately should refuse to come, I think you shall be damned. But this necessity of baptism his majesty so expounded that it was necessary to be had where it might be lawfully had, *id est*, ministered by lawful ministers, by whom alone, and by no private person, he thought it might in any case be administered; and yet utterly disliked all rebaptization, although either women or laics had baptized.’

Here the bishop of Winchester spake very learnedly and earnestly on that point, affirming, that the denying of private persons, in case of necessity, to baptize, were to cross all antiquity; seeing that it had been the ancient and common practice of the Church, when ministers at such times could not be got, and that it was also a rule agreed upon among divines, that the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament. His majesty answered, “though

he be not of the essence of the sacrament, yet is he of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the sacrament, taking for his ground the commission of Christ to His disciples, (Mat. xxviii. 20,) Go preach and baptize."

The issue was a consultation, whether into the rubric of private baptism, which leaves it indifferently to all laics or clergy, the words, curate or lawful minister, might not be inserted; which, says Barlow, "was not so much stuck at" by the bishops.

When the discussion upon the Apocrypha took place, we are told, "the bishop of Winton remembered the distinction of St Jerome; *Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem*; which distinction, he said, must be held for the justifying of sundry councils."

He was appointed, with Dr Miles Smith, bishop of Gloucester, to add the last hand in the translation of the Bible commanded by James I, and now known as the authorized version. At length, says Anthony Wood, who remarks that he "carried prelature in his very aspect," after he had gone through many employments, and had lived in continual drudgery as it were, for the public good, he surrendered up his pious soul to God, June 18th, 1616, and was buried on the south side of Westminster abbey.

Besides the works referred to above, he published "The full Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Blood of Christ Jesus;" and a "Survey of Christ's Sufferings and Descent into Hell." An edition of "The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," was published at the university press of Oxford, in the year 1842.

The authorities for this article are Bilson's own works. *Wood. Strype.*

BINGHAM, JOSEPH. Of this distinguished scholar and divine, to whom every student of divinity in the English church is so deeply indebted, and none more deeply than the author of the present article, very little is known. He was born in 1668; Wakefield has the

honour of having been his birth place, and at the school of Wakefield, (now presided over by the Rev Dr Carter) where several distinguished scholars have been educated, he received the first rudiments of learning. He was admitted a member of university college in Oxford the year 1684, took the degree of B.A. in 1688, being elected in the following July fellow of his college, and taking his M.A. degree in 1691. At this time he was made college tutor, and gave the first turn to the thoughts of one who afterwards became an eminent divine, John Potter, eventually archbishop of Canterbury. The attention of Bingham had been already directed to ecclesiastical antiquity, and his spirit was stirred up within him when he heard certain erroneous doctrines, with reference to the Holy Trinity, propounded in the university pulpit. He determined, when his own turn came to preach at St Mary's, to state exactly the meaning of the terms *divinitas* and *substantia*, as used by the fathers. The opposite side had been advocated by a preacher of considerable influence in the university, and the heads of houses, the majority of whom were too much overwhelmed by the multiplicity of their important duties, to pay much attention to theology, were sorely perplexed how to decide. But the hebdomadal board decided at last to censure Bingham, and to defend the heterodox side. The sermon was preached on the 28th of October, 1695, and the venal press, uniting with the heads of houses, and bringing against Bingham charges of Arianism and Tritheism, he found himself under the necessity of resigning his fellowship and retiring from Oxford on the 23rd of the following October. Thus did the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses in Oxford, drive from the university one of the greatest ornaments and most eminent divines of the church of England. Although there is no doubt of the facts being as they have just been stated, yet it is satisfactory to know that no record of this conduct on the part of the heterodox heads of houses remains in the books of the university.

Bingham was not left destitute. The celebrated Dr Radcliffe presented him, without solicitation, upon his resigning his fellowship, with the rectory of Headbourn-Worthy, in Hampshire, then valued at about £100 a year.

On the 12th of May, 1696, he was appointed to preach the visitation sermon in Winchester cathedral, in which, pursuing the subject which had excited so much clamour in Oxford, he introduced a vindication of himself, admitting that if there had been any truth in the charges brought against him, they were “enough to give all wise and sober men a just abhorrence” of his opinions. He was now among hard working parish priests, who could judge of his merits without partiality, and they recognized the orthodoxy of the ex-fellow, who was appointed to preach again at the visitation held in September, 1697. On this occasion he concluded his argument, and prepared the two visitation sermons, together with the Oxford sermon, for the press, with prefaces in vindication of himself. The sermons, however, were never printed till the last edition of Bingham’s works, published by his great-grandson, in 1829.

About six or seven years after his residence at Headbourn-Worthy, he married a daughter of the Rev Richard Pococke, rector of Colmere, in Hampshire, by whom he had ten children. But the heavy burthen of a family, and a very small income, did not daunt the noble spirit of Joseph Bingham. He commenced his immortal work, “*The Origines Ecclesiasticæ, or the Antiquities of the Christian Church.*” On various particular points of Christian antiquity, learned works had been published: Bingham determined to arrange the whole in one work; and he himself gives us an account of some of the difficulties with which he had to contend: “I confess,” he says, “that this work will suffer something in my hands for want of several books, which I have no opportunity to see, nor ability to purchase. The chief assist-

ance I have hitherto had, is from the noble benefaction of one, who *being dead, yet speaketh*, I mean the renowned bishop Morley," (who filled the see of Winchester from 1662 to 1684,) "whose memory will ever remain fresh in the hearts of the learned and the good; who, among other works of charity and generosity becoming his great soul and high station in the Church, such as the augmentation of several small benefices, and provision of a decent habitation and maintenance for the widows and poor clergymen in his diocese, has also bequeathed a very valuable collection of books to the church of Winchester for the advancement of learning among the parochial clergy; and I reckon it none of the least parts of my happiness, that Providence, removing me so early from the university, where the best supplies of learning are to be had, placed me by the hands of a generous benefactor (Dr Radcliffe), without any importunity or seeking of my own, in such a station as gives me liberty and opportunity to make use of so good a library, though not so perfect as I could wish."

The author of this volume may be permitted here also to record his gratitude to bishop Morley, as it was from that library that he borrowed the books with which he commenced his theological studies. He remembers the pleasure with which, from the study of Bingham's invaluable work, he proceeded to handle the very volumes which had passed through the hands of one to whom he felt so deeply indebted.

The first volume of the *Origines Ecclesiasticæ* was published in 1703, and the author proceeded regularly with the publication of it until, in 1722, he committed the tenth and last volume to the press. The work is the possession of the Church catholic, while the honour of having produced it belongs to the church of England. It would be well if every young clergyman would commence his theological studies by an attentive perusal of it; and most important does the study of this work become at a

time when there is a tendency to confound mediæval with primitive divinity.

The patrons of ecclesiastical preferment are unjustly blamed for not having taken earlier notice of Bingham. We naturally feel a wish that so learned and so good a man, one of the brightest ornaments of our church, and one of the most useful writers in Christendom, had been saved the cares which could not fail sometimes to disturb his studies, and had possessed the means of supplying himself with the books he required. One regrets the waste of time, when it is stated of Bingham, that he frequently procured imperfect copies of books that he wanted, at a cheap rate, and then employed a part of that time, of which so small a portion was allotted to him, in the tedious work of transcribing the deficient pages. But it is to be remembered that patrons could not reward merit until it was displayed: he was not to be rewarded until his work was completed. The heads of houses had thrown suspicion upon his character, not in malice, but in ignorance: when his great work first appeared, we may imagine many a wise head shaken, as if to say, "Wait awhile, and see what will come of it." As the work advanced he began to be noticed, but such kind of preferment as was fitting for a man of learning cannot be at once provided. A large parish was not the appropriate sphere of duty for Bingham. If he had been appointed to a bishopric he would not have had leisure for his great work, and he would have been one of those many prelates who, though they have laboured well in their respective offices, and have done their duty, by the very fact of their doing what their hands found to do with all their might, have left no work by which their names are known to posterity. When Bingham's character was established he found a patron in sir Jonathan Trelawny, bishop of Winchester, his diocesan, who collated him to the rectory of Havant in 1712. And here, the income derived from his works being also taken into consideration, the narrowness of his circumstances was removed, and he was begin-

ning to luxuriate in books, without injuring his family; but, unknowing in the ways of the world, like most of his neighbours, he ventured to speculate, and, in 1720, lost nearly the whole of his hard-earned savings, by the bursting of the well known South-Sea bubble.

In the successor of sir Jonathan Trelawny, bishop Trimnell, Bingham also found a patron. The bishop signified his intention to confer upon him the first vacant prebend in Winchester cathedral, and when his lordship perceived that Bingham's health was declining, he offered to make such provision, with respect to the living of Havant, as would enable his son eventually to hold it.

But Bingham was short lived; he died in the 55th year of his age, August 17th, 1723, and was buried in the church yard of Headbourn-Worthy.

Owing to the misfortunes of his latter years, his family was ill provided for, and his wife, who was admitted into the widows' college at Bromley in Kent, sold his writings to the booksellers, who, in 1726, published an edition of them in two volumes, folio. An edition in octavo has recently been published by the author's great-grandson with the corrections of Bingham himself, and with some additions. The "Origines" was translated into Latin by Grischovius, of Halle, in Germany, and published in eleven vols, 4to, 1723-38, and the translation was reprinted in 1751-61.

His other works are, "The French church's Apology for the church of England, or the objections of dissenters against the articles, homilies, liturgy, and canons of the English church, considered, and answered upon the principles of the reformed church of France. A work chiefly extracted out of the authentic acts and decrees of the French national synods, and the most approved writers of that church. London, 1706, 8vo."

"Scholastic history of the practice of the church in reference to the administration of baptism by laymen wherein an account is given of the practice of the primitive church, the practice of the modern Greek church,

and the practice of the churches of the reformation. With an appendix, containing some remarks on the historical part of Mr Lawrence's writings, touching the invalidity of lay-baptism, his preliminary discourse of the various opinions of the fathers, concerning re-baptization and invalid baptisms, and his discourse of sacerdotal powers. Part I. Lond. 1712, 8vo."

"A scholastical history of lay-baptism. Part II. With some considerations on Dr Brett's and Mr L——'s answer to the first part. London, 8vo. To which is prefixed, the state of the present controversy; and at the end there is an appendix, containing some remarks on the author of the second part of lay-baptism invalid."

He published likewise, "A discourse concerning the mercy of God to penitent sinners; intended for the use of persons troubled in mind." Being a sermon on psalm ciii. 13." It was printed singly at first, and reprinted among the rest of his works, in two vols, folio. London, 1725.

The following may be given as a specimen, not only of his style, but also of his principles:

"If it be now inquired what articles of faith, and what points of practice were reckoned thus fundamental, or essential to the very being of a Christian, and the union of many Christians into one body or Church, the ancients are very plain in resolving this. For as to fundamental articles of faith, the Church had them always collected or summed up out of Scripture in her creeds, the profession of which was ever esteemed both necessary on the one hand and sufficient on the other, in order to the admission of members into the Church by baptism; and consequently both necessary and sufficient to keep men in the unity of the Church, so far as concerns the unity of faith generally required of all Christians, to make them one body and one Church of believers. Upon this account, as I have had occasion to shew in a former book, the creed was commonly called by the ancients the *ἀνωγειν*, and *Regula*

Fidei, because it was the known standard or rule of faith by which orthodoxy and heresy were judged and examined. If a man adhered to this rule he was deemed an orthodox Christian, and in the union of the catholic faith; but if he deviated from it in any point, he was esteemed as one that cut himself off, and separated from the communion of the Church, by entertaining heretical opinions and deserting the common faith. Thus the fathers in the council of Antioch charge Paulus Samosatensis with departing from the rule of canon, meaning the creed, the rule of faith, because he denied the divinity of Christ. Irenæus calls it the unalterable canon or rule of faith and says, This faith was the same in all the world; men professed it with one heart and one soul: for though there were different dialects in the world, yet the power of faith was one and the same. The churches in Germany had no other faith or tradition than those in Spain, or in France, or in the East, or Egypt, or Libya. Nor did the most eloquent ruler of the Church say any more than this for no one was above his master, nor the weakest diminished any thing of this tradition. For the faith being one and the same, he that said most of it could not enlarge it, nor he that said least, take any thing from it. So Tertullian says, There is one rule of faith only, which admits of no change or alteration, 'That which teaches us to believe in one God Almighty, the Maker of the world, and in Jesus Christ His Son, &c.' This rule, he says, was instituted by Christ Himself, and there were no disputes in the Church about it, but such as heretics brought in, or such as made heretics; to know nothing beyond this, was to know all things. This faith was the rule of believing from the beginning of the gospel, and the antiquity of it was sufficiently demonstrated by the novelty of heresies which were but of yesterday's standing in comparison of it. Cyprian says, It was the law which the whole Catholic Church held, and that the Novatians themselves baptized into the same creed, though they differed about the sense.

of the article relating to the Church. Therefore Novatian in his book of the Trinity makes no scruple to give the creed the same name, *Regula Veritatis*, the rule of truth. And St Jerome after the same manner, disputing against the errors of the Montanists, says, The first thing they differed about was the rule of faith. For the Church believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be each distinct in his own person, though united in substance. But the Montanists, following the doctrine of Sabellius, contracted the Trinity into one Person. From all which it is evident, that the fundamental articles of faith were those which the primitive Church summed up in her creeds, in the profession of which she admitted men as members into the unity of her body by baptism; and if any deserted or corrupted this faith, they were no longer reputed Christians, but heretics, who break the unity of the Church by breaking the unity of the faith, though they had otherwise made no farther separation from her communion. For as Clemens Alexandrinus says, out of Hermes Pastor, faith is the virtue that binds and unites the Church together. Whence Hegesippus, the ancient historian, giving an account of the old heretics, says, They divided the unity of the Church by pernicious speeches against God and His Christ; that is, by denying some of the prime, fundamental articles of faith. He that makes a breach upon any one of these, cannot maintain the unity of the Church, nor his own character as a Christian. We ought therefore, says Cyprian, in all things to hold the unity of the catholic Church, and not to yield in any thing to the enemies of faith and truth. For he cannot be thought a Christian who continues not in the truth of Christ's gospel and faith. If men be heretics, says Tertullian, they cannot be Christians. The like is said by Lactantius, and Jerome, and Athanasius, and Hilary, and many others of the ancients, whose sense upon this matter I have fully represented in another place. As, therefore, there was an unity of faith necessary to be maintained in certain fundamental articles, in order to make a man a

Christian, so these articles were always to be found in the Church's creeds; the profession of which was esteemed keeping the unity of the faith; and deviating in any point from them, was esteemed a breach of that one faith, and a virtual departing from the unity of the Church.

“We are next to examine what communion different churches held with one another, that we may discover the harmonious unity of the catholic Church. And here first of all we are to observe, that as there was one common faith, consisting of certain fundamental articles, essential to the very being of a particular Church and its unity; and the being of a Christian; so this same faith was necessary to unite the different parts of the catholic Church, and make them one body of Christians. So that if any Church deserted or destroyed this faith in whole or in part, they were looked upon as rebels and traitors against Christ, and enemies to the common faith, and treated as a conventicle of heretics, and not of Christians. Upon this account every bishop not only made a declaration of his faith at his ordination, before the provincial synod that ordained him, but also sent his circular or encyclical letters, as they were called, to foreign Churches to signify that he was in communion with them. And this was so necessary a thing in a bishop newly ordained that Liberatus tells us, the omission of it was interpreted a sort of refusal to hold communion with the rest of the world, and a virtual charge of heresy upon himself or them.

“To maintain this unity of faith entire, every Church was ready to give each other their mutual assistance to oppose all fundamental errors, and beat down heresy at its first appearance among them. The whole world in this respect was but one common diocese, the episcopate was an universal thing, and every bishop had his share in it in such a manner as to have an equal concern in the whole; as I have more fully showed in another place where I observed, that in things not appertaining to the faith, bishops were not to meddle with other men's

dioceses, but only to mind the business of their own : but when the faith or welfare of the Church lay at stake, and religion was manifestly invaded, then, by this rule, of there being but one episcopacy, every other bishopric was as much their diocese as their own ; and no human laws or canons could tie up their hands from performing such acts of the episcopal office in any part of the world, as they thought necessary for the preservation of faith and religion. This was the ground of their meeting in synods, provincial, national, and sending their joint opinions and advice from one church to another. The greatest part of church history is made up of such acts as these, so that it were next to impertinent to refer to any particulars. I only observe one thing farther upon this head, that the intermeddling with other men's concerns, which would have been accounted a real breach of unity in many other cases, was in this case thought so necessary, that there was no certain way to preserve the unity of the catholic Church and faith without it. And as an instance of this, I have noted in the fore-cited book, that though it was against the ordinary rule of the Church for any bishop to ordain in another man's diocese, yet in case a bishop turned heretic, and persecuted the orthodox, and would ordain none but heretical men to establish heresy in his diocese, in that case any orthodox bishop was not only authorized, but obliged, as opportunity served, and the needs of the Church required, to ordain catholic teachers in such a diocese, to oppose the malignant designs of the enemy, and stop the growth of heresy, which might otherwise take deep root, and spread and overrun the Church. Thus Athanasius and the famous Eusebius of Samosata went about the world in the prevalency of the Arian heresy, ordaining in every church where they came, such clergy as were necessary to support the orthodox cause in such a time of distress and desolation ; and this was so far from being reckoned a breach of the Church's unity, though against the letter of a canon in ordinary cases, that it was necessary to be done, in such a state of affairs,

to maintain the unity of the catholic faith, which every bishop was obliged to defend, not only in his own diocese but in all parts of the world, by virtue of that rule which obliges bishops in weighty affairs to take care of the catholic Church, and requires all churches in time of danger to give mutual aid and assistance to one another. —*Bingham's Works*, with Memoir prefixed to the last edition.

BIRCH, THOMAS, was born in Clerkenwell, London, on the 23rd of November, 1705. His parents, who were quakers, intended him for trade, but the love of learning prevailed, and he was permitted to pursue his inclination on condition that he should provide for himself. He accordingly became usher in three schools kept by quakers; which sect, however, he quitted, and in 1728 married the daughter of Mr Cox, a clergyman, but lost his wife the year following. In 1730 he was ordained by Hoadley then bishop of Salisbury, and as a disciple of Hoadley he was introduced to the family of lord Hardwicke, and procured the living of Ulting, in Essex. In 1734 he was admitted into the royal society; and the year following elected a member of that of antiquaries. In 1743 he obtained the rectory of Landewy Welfrey, in the county of Pembroke. In 1744 he was presented to the rectory of Siddington St Mary, and the vicarage of Siddington St Peter, Gloucestershire, which he soon after resigned for the rectories of St Michael, Wood-street, and St Mary, Staining. His next preferment was the united rectory of St Margaret Pattens and St Gabriel Fenchurch. In 1752 he became one of the secretaries of the royal society, soon after which the degree of DD. was conferred on him by Dr Herring, the archbishop of Canterbury. His last preferment was the rectory of Depden, in Essex. He was killed by a fall from his horse in the Hampstead-road, January 9th, 1766. Dr Birch left a considerable part of his fortune, and a large collection of MSS. and books to the British Museum, of which he was one of the first

trustees. Besides his share in the General Historical Dictionary, 10 vols, folio, which professes to be a translation of Boyle, augmented, and purged of its sceptical matter, he published Thurloe's State Papers, 7 vols, folio; the Life of Mr Boyle, 8vo.; the Life of Archbishop Tillotson, 8vo; the Life and Works of John Greaves, 2 vols, 8vo; the Lives accompanying the Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain, engraved by Houbraken and Vertue, folio; an Inquiry into the share which Charles I. had in the Transactions of the earl of Glamorgan, 8vo; an Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, extracted from the State Papers of sir Thomas Edmondes, knight, 8vo; the Life and Miscellaneous Works of sir Walter Raleigh, 2 vols, 8vo; Memoirs of the Reign of queen Elizabeth, 2 vols, 4to; The History of the Royal Society, 4 vols, 4to; the Life of Henry prince of Wales, 8vo; Letters, Speeches, &c. of Francis Bacon, 8vo; the Intellectual System of Dr Cudworth, 2 vols, 4to; Spencer's Fairy Queen, 3 vols, 4to; Letters between colonel Robert Hammond and general Fairfax, &c., 8vo; the Life of Dr John Ward, professor of rhetoric at Gresham college, 8vo. He was also the author of many detached pieces in various publications.—*Biog. Brit.*

BIRKBECK, SIMON, fellow of Queen's college, Oxford, born at Hornby, in Westmoreland, in 1584. He acquired considerable reputation as a preacher, and also for his acquaintance with the works of the fathers. He was afterwards vicar of Gilling, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, which living he continued to hold during the usurpation. His principal work is called, The Protestant's Evidence, showing that for 1500 years next after Christ, divers guides of God's Church have, on sundry points of religion, taught as the church of England now doth. He died in 1656.—*Wood's Athenæ.*

BIRINUS, a Benedictine of Rome, who, having made

a promise to pope Honorius, that he would sow the seed of our holy faith in those parts of Britain beyond the dominions of the English, to which no Christian preacher had ever yet been, was sent by him upon that mission. For this purpose he received episcopal consecration from Asterius, bishop of Genoa, who was commissioned by the pope to ordain him. Upon his arrival in Britain, finding the West-Saxons entirely addicted to idolatry, he judged it more expedient to begin to preach the Christian faith amongst them for some time, than to proceed farther. Wherefore he preached the gospel first to them, and soon converted the king and his subjects. After the king had been sufficiently instructed, he approached the baptismal font to receive the sacred laver of regeneration; on which occasion, the most holy and victorious Oswald, king of Northumberland, assisted at the ceremony as his sponsor; and thus, by an alliance most pleasing and acceptable to God, he first received him in quality of his son by holy regeneration, whose daughter he afterwards espoused as his consort in marriage. After which these two kings gave bishop Birinus the city of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, that he might establish his episcopal see there. In this place, after he had built and consecrated several churches, and, by his industrious zeal, converted many to the faith of Christ, he departed to Him, and was interred in that city. Some time after which, when Hedde was bishop, his remains were translated thence to the city of Winchester, and deposited in the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Out of this see of Dorchester, which was soon transferred to Winchester, were afterwards formed the sees of Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, Lichfield, Worcester, and Hereford.—*Bede H. I.* iii. 7.

BISBIE, NATHANIEL, DD. rector of Long Melford, near Sudbury, Suffolk, and highly esteemed as a preacher and a zealous churchman. He was deprived of his living for his loyalty to king James II, and died a non-juror.

September, 1695. He published—Sermons: The Modern Pharisee; Prosecution no Persecution, preached at Bury; Two Sermons on the Evils of Anarchy and Conventicles; The Bishop Visiting; A Visitation Sermon.—*Wood's Athenæ.*

BISCOE, RICHARD, born about the end of the 17th century; probably the son of the nonconformist, John Biscoe, of New Inn hall, Oxford. Having first presided over a dissenting congregation, he repented, and subsequently conformed to the church of England. In 1727 he was presented to the living of St Martin Outwich, in London, holding with it a prebend of St Paul's. He was the author of the well known work, The History of the Acts of the Apostles, confirmed from other authors, &c.; being the substance of his sermons preached at Boyle's lecture in 1736, 1737, and 1738, and published in two vols, 8vo, 1742.—*Gen. Biog. Dict.*

BISHOP, WILLIAM. This person, the first bishop appointed to preside over the Romish sect in England, was educated at Oxford, either at Gloucester hall (now Worcester college,) or Lincoln college. Wood thinks at the former, the master of which was at least a romanizer, if not an actual Romanist. He left Oxford in 1573, or 1574, and completed his education in the seminaries at Rheims and Rome. He was then sent as a missionary to England, but was arrested at Dover, and confined in London till the end of the year 1584. Being released, he went to Paris; and having taken his degree of licentiate, he returned to England in 1591. For the first ten years of queen Elizabeth's reign, there were many romanizers in our church, who submitted to the regulations of the Anglican bishops. The Romanists formed no distinct or separate sect.

Out of 9,400 clergy of our church, only 175 lost their preferments, at the time of the reformation under Eliza-

beth, for refusing either to take the oath or to conform to the liturgy; among the laity in like manner, while many objected to the reformation, almost all frequented the service of the Church. It was more than once declared by sir Edward Coke, when attorney general, and the queen herself confirmed the statement in a letter to sir Francis Walsingham, that, for the first ten years of her reign, the catholics, without doubt or scruple, repaired to the parish churches. The assertion is true, if not too generally applied. "I deny not," says father Parsons in reply to Coke, "but that many throughout the realm, though otherwise catholics, [Romanists] in heart, (as most they were,) did at that time and after, as also now, (1606) either upon fear, or lack of better instruction, or both repair to protestant churches."

Such was the general state of things. But men of more ardent minds, such principally as, for noncompliance had been expelled the universities, or were disappointed in their views of preferment; such as a warmer zeal for religion animated, and who could ill brook the growing success of innovation: such as, habituated as they had been in the schools to resist the new doctrines of the reformers, were resolved not silently to quit the field, but to maintain, by every exertion, the war of words they loved, and which finally, they doubted not must triumph over all these and more, when the measures of the court prevailed, withdrew to the continent. They were received as professors or students in the universities and monasteries particularly of France, Flanders, and Italy.

These were the men whose increasing manœuvres and activity originated the Romish schism in England: in a few years the number of those who returned was considerable, and having instituted a schism, they were anxious to obtain a bishop that their sect might look like a church. But to this plan the Jesuits, with that dark intriguing polemic, father Parsons, at their head, were opposed, and instead of a bishop the pope appointed

an archpriest to preside over them. For an account of this transaction the reader is referred to the life of Blackwell. Blackwell, the first archpriest, was a creature of the Jesuits, and the secular clergy of the English schism were discontented with the appointment. The narrative shall be given in the words of Mr Berington himself a Romish priest of Oscott.

“The resentment of the [Romish] clergy, thus overreached and insulted, was great, when they understood what had been done at Rome, and when Mr Blackwell announcing his delegation, declared his title with the extent of its powers, and demanded their submission. The elders came forward, at the head of whom were Mr Colleton in the south, and in the north Mr Mush, firm but candid men, admired for their learning, revered for their virtues. They saw that the letter from the protector was unsupported by any brief from his holiness; and soon the whole transaction was unravelled to them, the perfidy of Blackwell and Standish, and the shameless declaration of the latter in company with the pretended delegates before the pontiff at Rome. They doubted not but the whole was the contrivance of father Parsons, and that the cardinal and the pope had been both imposed on, which many clauses of the protector’s letter sufficiently evinced. Under this conviction, they entreated that they might not be urged to admit the authority of the archpriest, till it should be confirmed by an express brief, or till his holiness’s pleasure were signified to them. Besides, they observed, they would not believe that the court of Rome, as the private instructions were said to enjoin, would impose on the clergy of England the hard condition of submitting themselves to the dominion of the new order of Jesuits.

“Blackwell perceived there was no time to be lost: wherefore, in conjunction with father Garnet, he despatched agents through the kingdom to collect signatures to a letter of thanks to the pope and cardinal, for that excellent form of government they had established over them. The

young and ignorant, as yet unapprised of the matter, allured by promises, or intimidated by threats, gave their names; and a messenger set out for Rome.

“The heads of the [Romish] clergy, meanwhile, deliberately concerted their plan of opposition, when it was agreed to depute two of their body, to exhibit their complaints to his holiness. The two chosen were Dr Bishop and Mr Charnock; and they took with them a remonstrance, the chief heads of which were, ‘That the government of an archpriest for a whole nation seemed unprecedented and extraordinary; that it did not answer the ends of the mission, especially as to the sacrament of confirmation; that the divine institution required a hierarchy in every national church; that the measures of the appointment were taken by misinformation and surreptitious means; that the chief persons among the clergy had neither been advised with, nor had they consented, as the court of Rome had been made to believe that the whole derogated from the dignity of the clergy; that it was a contrivance of father Parsons and the Jesuits, who had the liberty to nominate both the archpriest and his assistants; that the cardinal protector’s letter, without an express bull from his holiness, was not sufficient to make so remarkable an alteration in the government of the Church; that the archpriest being ordered to advise with the Jesuits in all matters relating to the clergy, was an unbecoming restraint upon their body, and without precedent. For these, and such like reasons, they beg leave to demur in their obedience to the archpriest, till his authority shall be more legally established.’

“The letter of thanks to the Roman court was soon followed by less pleasing information, announcing the opposition to the archpriest, and finally stating that two agents from the clergy were actually on their way to Rome. The cardinal received the news with indignation, and instantly, by letter, demanded from Blackwell, in the name of his holiness, a minute detail of all things, with the names and characters of the agents and their refrac-

tory associates, and the motives on which their resistance was founded. The letter is dated Nov. 10, 1598.

“About the beginning of the new year, the deputies being arrived in Rome, presented themselves before the cardinals Cajetan and Borghese. How gracious their reception was, we may conjecture; for at night, they were arrested in their lodgings, and conducted under a guard of soldiers to the Roman college, where father Parsons presided. He committed them to separate rooms, after their papers, under a threat of excommunication if they withheld any, had been taken from them. That reverend father, it is related, and other Jesuits had accompanied the Sbirri. They were now separately examined by this same inquisitor, while another father, officiating as secretary, minuted their answers; after which, being again admitted to the cardinals, they underwent another interrogatory, and were reconducted to prison, where they remained four months.

“Such, thus far, was the issue of a solemn deputation from the catholic [Romish] clergy of England to his holiness Clement VIII!”

The pope perceived that in permitting a cardinal to nominate the archpriest he had made a mistake; in 1599 therefore he issued a brief confirming what the cardinal had done, and superadding the usual mandates of a papal decree. The brief restored tranquillity for a season, which was not, however, of long continuance. It forced obedience from the popish clergy, but it could not reconcile them to its injunctions. They never ceased to agitate until they carried their point and obtained a bishop. In 1623 father Parsons was dead; political considerations, which had hitherto rendered the pope hostile to the request of his clerical agents in England, now inclined him to accede to their wishes, and Dr Bishop was chosen: it was supposed that his appointment would be pleasing to king James's government, and as Mr Berington, who was well acquainted with the principles of his own

church, observes, "being in his 70th year, it might be presumed that death would soon lay his mitre low, and place the English church," (meaning the Romish sect in England,) "in its usual state of anarchy." It seems strange for a Romanist to attribute so foul a purpose to the head of his church. Bishop was consecrated at Paris on the 31st of July, 1623. Mr Berington proceeds :

"The bull for Dr Bishop's consecration to the see of Chalcedon was sufficiently ample, conveyed in the usual style of the Roman court, wherein the lowly *servus servorum* soon drops the menial character, and rises to the demeanour and lordly energy of an all-powerful monarch. He is appointed, *post longum mentis nostræ discursum* to the church of Chalcedon in the ancient Bithynia ; but his residence, *speciali gratia*, is dispensed with, so long as that church remain in the hands of infidels. The brief, which directs the exercise of his jurisdiction to the kingdoms of England and Scotland, specifies the power with which he is invested : 'When thou shalt be arrived in those kingdoms, we grant unto thee license, *ad nostrum et sedis apostolicæ beneplacitum*, freely and lawfully to enjoy and use all and each those faculties lately committed by our predecessors to the archpriests, as also such as ordinaries enjoy and exercise in their cities and dioceses. These two instruments were followed by a decree, enabling him to choose a vicar-general, and appoint such other officers as he might judge necessary ; but which terminated with this general clause, that the whole of the powers and jurisdiction granted him should cease, whenever England returned to the catholic faith, and its sees were filled with regular ministers.

"It is true, as I have stated, that the clergy applied for a bishop with ordinary jurisdiction, meaning there should be no Roman delegate, as the three archpriests had recently been : it is likewise true, that Dr Bishop, as will be seen, was received in England as such, that he viewed himself as such, and that the general

language of the papal instruments imported as much; still, when we consider the saving clause, *ad nostrum et sedis apostolicæ beneplacitum*, applied to the exercise of that jurisdiction which is alone essential to bishops, (such as ordinaries enjoy and exercise are the words of the brief,) it must be admitted that the power granted was revocable at will, that it was therefore a delegated power, and that Dr Bishop was no more than a vicar-apostolic, vested with ordinary jurisdiction. The events which soon followed under his successor will evince more clearly the truth of this observation. Thus was the artful policy of the Roman court, which never willingly lets go a power it has once been permitted to exercise, rendered more conspicuous; and the clergy's agent, Mr Bennet, did but shew how completely his honesty was duped, when, having read the brief of his holiness, in exultation of mind he was heard to exclaim, *rem habemus, verba non moramur*.

“The bishop was received with great marks of respect by the clergy and laity. The monks of the Benedictine order also came forward, welcoming him as ordinary of England, and promising filial love and reverence; nor do I find that, openly at least, his government was opposed by any.

“Those monks, it may be proper to observe, had been lately formed into an English congregation, having established themselves in different houses abroad: and about the year 1617, the friars of the order of St Francis had been founded in Douay. Of these orders some were now in England.

“The general state of catholics continued such as I have described it, favoured clandestinely by the king, whose mind was still fixed on the Spanish match, but daily harassed by the popular or puritanic party both in and out of parliament. The utter dislike the nation had expressed of that alliance, served to foment the general odium of popery; but the match broke off, and with it

vanished the brilliant dream the catholics had indulged of a returning happiness.

“Meanwhile, the bishop of Chalcedon proceeded in his functions ; and to obviate, as far as might be, the repetition of such attempts as had often disgraced the catholic cause, and to give a permanent security to an establishment, of which he thought himself the canonical head, with the advice of many able canonists, he instituted a dean and chapter, as a standing senate and council for his own assistance, and, *sede vacante*, to exercise episcopal ordinary jurisdiction. That his power, if truly episcopal, extended to this, the discipline of all ages had clearly evinced. But some doubts seemed to hang on his mind : ‘What defect,’ he says, ‘may be in my powers, I shall supplicate his holiness to make good from the plenitude of his own.’ The number of canons was nineteen, at the head of whom was Mr Colleton, the dean. At the same time, for the government of the distant provinces, our prelate appointed five vicars general, and twenty archdeacons, with a certain number of rural deans.

“Now, it seemed to many, that the English catholic church was re-established in the renovation of her hierarchy. But the fond imagination, I fear, was founded on no truth ; or, if it could, at this time, be said that we had a church, there was no period, since the reformation, in which it might not have been asserted with equal propriety. The archpriests, it is allowed, were delegated agents ; and such, I have shewn, was the bishop of Chalcedon. His commission was more extensive, but his powers were revocable at the will of his employer, *ad nostrum et sedis apostolicæ beneplacitum*. It is not with such a precarious head that any ordinary jurisdiction is exercised ; that a hierarchy is established ; that a church is formed. The Roman pontiff still continued to be, what the clergy of England had, for many years, permitted him to be, their only bishop. He governed us, at one time, by the agency of Dr Allen, or perhaps by that of father Parsons : at

another by his archpriests ; now by the bishop of Chalcedon ; and in after times, as it will appear, by a series of similar delegations. To the pride of some minds such an extraordinary economy might be flattering.

“ But,” Mr Berington asserts, “ we always had a church, because we always had a priesthood regularly succeeding in the ministry over a believing flock, and united to the common centre of unity. And if the hierarchy, of which this priesthood is a component part, was imperfect, let the blame fall where it should, either on the clergy, who, instructed by venerable antiquity, neglected obvious means to give to themselves and the faithful a regular superintendant pastor, or on the Roman bishop, who, when applied to by reiterated petitions, agreeably to the rules of a more modern discipline, refused compliance, preferring rather to see the remains of the British church unassisted in its spiritual exigencies, than to part from a power which a vain prerogative had established. The title of universal bishop which St Gregory, with the strongest expressions of horror, had rejected from him, his successors, in later days, seemed fondly to ambition ; at least, in their conduct to the British catholics, they have, to the present hour, retained the proud pre-eminence, and exercised it.

“ The auspicious opening of Dr Bishop’s government, which seemed to promise peace and a re-union of sentiments, was soon clouded over. He died April 16th, 1624, aged seventy-one.”

This article is taken chiefly from Berington’s Preface to the Memoirs of Panzani. As Berington was a Romish priest at Oscott, it was thought expedient to use his words. Whether his sentiments would be tolerated at Oscott now is doubtful.—*Charles Butler. Dod. Darwall’s Transactions of the English Romanists.*

BISSE, THOMAS, was born at Oldbury-on-the-hill, in Gloucestershire, and was baptized on Easter Tuesday, 1675. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a member of New college, Oxford, and on the 12th of January, 1692,

he was elected on the foundation of Corpus Christi college he took his degree of MA. in 1698, BD. in 1708, and DD. in 1712. He became preacher at the Rolls in 1715 in the chapel of which society he delivered his able discourses "On the excellency and beauty of the Liturgy." In the year 1716 he was collated by his brother, the bishop of Hereford, to the chancellorship of that diocese and afterwards to a prebend in the cathedral church. He here distinguished himself by a conscientious discharge of his duty in taking care that the services of the sanctuary were performed with due solemnity and grandeur. We hear of men accepting deaneries and stalls in cathedral churches, who openly profess their dislike of the choral service; some have even censured it as popish and corrupt, and yet, for filthy lucre's sake, have, during their residence, committed the popery, and shared in the corruption. Too many have thought only of filling their purses, and have been pre-eminent for luxurious living while their expenditure on the services of the church has been niggardly in the extreme. The zeal of deans and chapters in raising the value of their estates, and their disregard, at the same time, of the service of God,—some of them never attending church on the week-day, except when compelled by the statutes, in order to be qualified for their dividends, doing for money what for the love of God they will not do—this it is that demoralizes cathedral towns, and is leading to the suppression of cathedral establishments. Lazy and luxurious deans and canons will not be tolerated by those whose indignation is excited by the thought of lazy monks of old. There are splendid exceptions to be made to these censures, and among the exceptions which the censor of cathedral establishments will make, the name of Bisse will find a place. His vindication of cathedral worship or choir service, is satisfactory and complete; the only answer that the greatest enemy of the Church can adduce is, that the practice and the theory do not correspond. Let, then, the theory be adopted, and as to the practice, let those deans and

chapters who (we must say dishonestly as well as sacrilegiously,) do not attend to the service of their churches, be denounced, and, if possible, prosecuted.

Of musical services, Bisse remarks: "I grant, that all true worship must be in spirit and in truth, must proceed from the soul and mind, however offered up, whether 'sung or said.' This was as necessary in the Jewish as in the Christian worship. Give thanks, O Israel, saith David, unto God from the ground of the heart. Without this the most harmonious, even David himself, would be to God no other, no better than the instrument in his hand. Without real piety as well as charity of the heart and affections, though the most devout, even St Paul sung with the tongue of angels, he would be but as a sounding brass. For are not the lips, the tongue, the voice, merely instrumental in praising the Lord? It is the soul, like Mary's, that must magnify the Lord; it is the spirit that must rejoice in God our Saviour, though it doth it by the instruments furnished by nature, as the tongue and lips; or those added by art, as the harp or organ. This objection, were there any force in it, would be as much against vocal prayer, as vocal music. For it is certain we must pray, as well as sing, with our heart unto God. But if we consult the practice of the objectors, who themselves delight in singing psalms in their assemblies, this objection seems levelled not against the use of vocal, but of instrumental music in the Christian worship: this they say is inconsistent with the spirituality of the gospel-worship, though allowed in the ceremonial service of the Jewish temple.

"But they consider not, that this institution of a choir to minister before the ark, though appointed under the law, was no original part of the law given by Moses, and therefore could have no necessary dependence upon it, so as to be continued or abrogated with it. The praising God, if rightly considered, is an essential part of the moral law, which can never be abrogated: and the performance of it by singing is as lawful, as by speaking.

For what is singing, but a melodious way of speaking, and the more natural way, because more melodious, more affecting, more awakening our natural passions, and more expressive of their joy. And if singing the praises of God Most High be as lawful, as speaking them, is it not equally lawful, to call in the best helps and assistances to the voice in one manner of pronunciation, as is usual in the other? Such helps are musical instruments, which being mere instruments have no voice of their own, have neither speech nor language, and therefore cannot offend; yet they are formed to assist the voice of the singer, to fill up, soften, or relieve its intermissions; and in general to sweeten it by the union or correspondence of its symphony. To this end were they invented, and to this end have they been used, as most grateful assistants, in singing praises unto God, before the giving of the law, before the flood. Jubal is recorded for the original invention: and the song of Moses, sung by all Israel, and which Miriam with all the women repeated with timbrels in their hands, was sung before the delivery of the law.

“ But as strange as this objection surely is, yet the reason given for it is more strange: that temple music was indulged to the Jews, because a carnal people; whereas all inventions found for the gratification of human nature, music is the most spiritual, and fitted for men of the most spiritual and elevated affections. There are pleasures that are calculated for carnal sensual men, which fill their minds with dross and dirt, and by no imaginary metamorphosis turn them into brute beasts of the earth, into earth itself. Whereas music is allowed to sit among, or rather above human pleasures, as a refiner: it raises the mind and its desires above their low level, drives out carnal thoughts and inclinations as dross, and leaves like pure gold, which like that too is most ductile and susceptible of good and heavenly impressions: it lifts us up as into heaven, and fits us for the society of heaven. For this reason is it so highly honoured by the Spirit of God, as to be represented as used in the worship of the

heavenly choir, composed of angels and glorified saints, who must be acknowledged more spiritual than any saints upon earth; and to worship more in spirit and in truth. From these then we will fetch our precedents. The four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and they sung a new song. Again, I heard the voice of harpers harping with harps, and they sung as it were a new song before the throne. The same we find Rev. xv. 2. Now these descriptions of the heavenly choir, though bearing an analogy to the temple-worship, were written and directed to the Christian church, prophesying what should come to pass in it, and describe the worship of it, not of the Jewish church, which was then passing away. Nay those saints which were thus represented as singing with harps, were themselves Christians. For they were redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, before whom they thus sung: Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God."

Of chanting he says: "Various are the reasons for this ancient usage of singing, as termed in the rubric, but in common appellation chanting, the public service.

"1. In general we Christians do hereby testify, that the law of God is not troublesome or grievous, but pleasant and sweet; and that we keep it not as servants with the spirit of fear, but as children with the spirit of love, even the love of David, who make also the statutes of God our song in the house of our pilgrimage. We acknowledge, that all the faithful under the law were of the same family, of the same household of faith with us Christians, though shut up under a darker and severer dispensation; but thence we argue, that if the worship under the ministration of condemnation were allowed to be joyous, much more may ours under the ministration of righteousness exceed in joy.

"2. We Christians by this usage distinguish our worship from that of the gentiles, by the cheerfulness of our voices, as well as of our behaviour.

“As to the behaviour of the primitive Christians, the manner was, as Tertullian describes in his Apology, c. 3. to pray with their hands stretched out, and their heads uncovered; by their open hands protesting their innocence, by their open countenance professing they were not ashamed. *Manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudis, quia non erubescimus*: thereby taxing the gentiles, whose custom at their public worship was to cover their hands and faces, which was a tacit acknowledgment of guilt in their hands and shame in the face. Thus, as by the openness of demeanour, so by the cheerfulness of voice testified in singing their prayers, they declared, that they did not worship, as men without hope, like the gentiles whose sacrifices were attended with dejection and despondency, with loud cryings and howlings; but that their worship was full of faith and hope, which are graces full of joy and consolation.

“3. This manner gives still an higher dignity, solemnity, and a kind or degree of sanctity to divine worship by separating it more, and setting it at a farther distance from all actions and interlocutions that are common and familiar: chanting being a degree and advance in dignity above the distinct reading or saying used in the church as that is and ought ever to be above that manner of reading or speaking, which passes in common conversation and intercourse among men. For this reason is not a peculiar and solemn manner of reading received in our courts of judicature, in our senates and synods; thereby to give an awfulness and distinction to those public proceedings, by separating them from the condescensions and freedoms that are used in common transactions?

“4. Chanting the service is found more efficacious to awaken the attention, to stir up the affections, and to edify the understanding, than plain reading of it, though assisted by proper emphasis and graces of a well governed pronunciation: which effects, as they are wrought principally by the melody of the voice; so not a little by the

very strength and loudness of it, which is known to have its force, and to attract the hearers. Now the voice may be much more raised, extended or exerted in chanting, than is practicable in speaking. Yet some, through unskillfulness in elocution, borrow a corrupt imitation of this manner to strengthen their utterance in their assemblies, and assume a tone in their praying and preaching: not considering, that in chanting, though this be natural and pleases, yet in speaking it becomes affected and offends: and that chanting misunderstood and misapplied, falls under the appellation and censure of canting. So unhappily blind is prejudice, as to condemn that manner in our worship, when it is in perfection; and yet in their own, to take up with its corruption.

“But in this ancient usage, though the cheerful joyfulness, dignity, and efficacy of the voice be principally manifested, yet the evenness of it was also intended; not the melody only, but moreover the equality of pronunciation was consulted. The manner of chanting directed by St Athanasius, was such as to be the *vicinior pronuncianti quam canenti*. Which manner our own church described, as well as directed, in a former rubric, which thus appointed, ‘That in places where they do sing, (or choirs) there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the epistle and gospel.’ Whence I observe, that according to the intention of our church, the manner of chanting should be reduced and regulated to the ancient *planus cantus*, which, as interpreted by that rubric, is after the manner of distinct reading. And though there may be allowed a greater liberty in chanting the prayers than the lessons, yet there too the injunctions, Eliz. 49, direct, ‘That there be a modest and distinct song so used through all the parts of the common prayers, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing.’ The end propounded in both is the edification of the people, to which is recommended by the one a plain, by the other a modest chanting, as being more distinct, rather than if

accompanied with much modulation of the voice ; wherein choirs are apt to exceed, as being most pleasing and acceptable. Insomuch that the restitution and continuance of that manner of chanting, which was directed by St Athanasius even in the psalms, has been the desire of the judicious, as it was of St Austin, at least in the prayers ; *qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonantem lectorem psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset, quam canenti.*

“ Nevertheless, at the close of each prayer or collect, a certain modulation, inflexion or change of voice, such as is accustomed, is both necessary and becoming : becoming because being placed upon that constant close, ‘ through Jesus Christ our Lord,’ or the like, it is a proper testimony that we rejoice in God our Saviour ; necessary, because : it serves as a public sign or warning to the choir to join in the approaching Amen. For the same reason is it also necessary in chanting the versicles and responses, distributed throughout the liturgy. This modulation of the voice of the priest has the same use, and is of the same necessity, in our cathedral worship, as the cadence or other variation of it is, when he only says or reads the service in our parochial churches.”

He says of cathedrals generally : “ 1. Concerning our cathedral churches and the service offered up therein, must remind you, that however useless and unserviceable they have been thought by some, they contribute above all things, highly to the honour of God and His holy religion ; and to the spiritual happiness and outward prosperity of the people or places where they are built, and above all to the public welfare and security of the nation.

“ They contribute highly above all things and ways, to the honour of God and His holy religion established among us. When the queen of Sheba saw the house that Solomon had built, and the meat of his tables, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers and their apparel, she was overpowered with

astonishment. For there is nothing can set off the majesty of princes so much as the magnificence of their palaces, and the economy of the royal household, and splendour of their courts. In like manner the majesty of Him who is higher than the highest, cannot be manifested among men any other visible way, but by the greatness of His temples, and glory of the daily ministrations therein. But now what august sanctuaries are our cathedral fabrics? and how glorious the worship offered up therein, as ye are witnesses this day? It was the peculiar blessing of God to this nation, that these sacred buildings exceed in greatness the cathedral churches of any other nation: and it is a more peculiar blessing, that the worship in it exceeds in glory their worship also. There remain scarce either house or worship of this kind among the churches that are called reformed: and the church of Rome, which has both, and glories in both, must yield this glory to us, till it is reformed. Blessed, therefore, be the name of our God, and blessed be the memory of His instruments, those famous men; who in reforming our worship, followed not after the tumultuous manner of other nations, but after the pattern and spirit of holy David: for they did the very same things as the wise man records of David; as they set singers before the altar, so they beautified our feasts, and set in order the solemn times, to the end, that we might praise His holy name, and that our temples might sound from morning.

“I will not now enlarge on the spiritual happiness derived upon the people, who dwell round about and daily frequent these temples; a life made up of duty and delight, far more pleasurable than if led in courts and theatres; which yet are thought the most pleasurable lives, but only thought, seldom found so: neither will I speak of the temporal prosperity derived upon the cities where they are built, by bringing a constant resort and confluence into their gates, of dependents, relations, and strangers, of dependents drawn upon business, relations by affinity,

strangers through curiosity, which is the common channel of commerce and wealth : but what I must insist on is that these sacred foundations are no receptacles of an useless generation, that ought to be dissolved ; no hives of drones, that live upon the good of the land, without bringing any returns into the fund of the national interest but that, on the contrary, they do above all professions, orders or societies of men, military or civil, contribute to the public welfare and establishment of our nation.

“ For from whence comes our national strength ? Come it not from our national worship, which alone induces God according to His covenant to come and dwell among us and to be our God, and make us His people ? Suppose we are strong in our fleets and armies, and stronger in our alliances, and in the multitude of our treasures, which are the sinews and strength of the former. What inducements are these to God to be our God ? Will He choose us for His people, because we are a rich people ? Will He be our God, because we have kings, emperors and states for our allies ? Will He dwell among us, because we can cause Him to dwell in safety through the defence of our fleets and armies ? No ; as God is our strength, so were it not for the public worship, offered up day by day, in His holy places, He would utterly depart from among us were it not for the standing sacrifice of the tabernacle, the Lord would remove out of our camp.

“ All this was not only acknowledged by our governors but urged by them as the conclusive reason for establishing the liturgy, ‘ as being most profitable to the state of this realm, upon which the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plentifully poured, as by public prayers.’ The same acknowledgment was repeated, the same argument urged again by our governors for re-establishing the liturgy after the grand rebellion, that dismal interval, a cloud and scandal to our chronicle, when the daily offering with the liturgy being caused to cease throughout the land, the vials of God’s

wrath were as readily and plentifully poured upon the state of this realm, if it might be called a state, for many years.

“ Now though the public worship be appointed to be daily offered up in our parish churches, and in some few is offered up according to appointment ; yet in these great temples the morning and evening sacrifice is never intermitted : it is offered day by day continually, even as the Lamb under the law. These are the great mother churches in every diocese, from which the parochial churches being originally derived, and upon which being dependent, are to be looked upon as parts of them, and belonging to them, as living members of the same body. And therefore the acts and offerings which are offered up in these greater, are accepted for all the lesser parish churches within their dependence, where the daily offering is not upon just cause observed, as indeed it generally cannot ; even as the daily sacrifice of the temple was imputed to the several synagogues, where only the law and the prophets were expounded, and that every sabbath day. These cathedral temples, these mother churches, the sure resting places for the ark of the covenant, before which the daily offering never ceaseth to be offered morning and evening, these are our strength and salvation, and are of far greater use and security to our people and to our land, than all the watchfulness of our senators, or policy of our ambassadors, or valour of our mighty men. God is well known in these palaces of our Sion, as a sure refuge.”

Dr Bisse first established the annual meeting of the three choirs of Hereford, Worcester, and Gloucester, which still occurs for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy ; but what has degenerated into a mere music meeting was in his hands a religious solemnity. The idea was suggested to him when he was called to preach for the sons of the clergy at St Paul's, in 1716 ; the following note is appended to that sermon :

“ In confirmation of their character in this as in the foregoing particulars, I will insert this account out of Dr

Chamberlain's Present State of England, where, speaking of former times, he saith :

' Great was the authority of the clergy in those days, and their memory should be precious in these days, if we consider, that they were the authors of so great benefits and advantages to this kingdom ; that there are few things of any importance for promoting of the welfare of this church and state, wherein the bishops and prelates, under God, have not been the principal instruments. The excellent laws made by king Ina, king Athelstan, king Edmond, and St Edward the Confessor, from whom we have our common laws, and our privileges mentioned in magna charta, were all made by the persuasions and advice of archbishops and bishops named in our histories. The union of the two houses of York and Lancaster (whereby a long and bloody war was ended) was by the most wise advice and counsel of bishop Morton, then a privy-counsellor. The union of England and Scotland, that inexpressible advantage to both nations, was brought to pass by the long foresight of the reverend bishop Foxe, a privy-counsellor, in advising Henry VII to match his eldest daughter to Scotland, and his younger to France. Most of the great public works now remaining in England, acknowledge their ancient and present being, either to the sole cost and charges, or to the liberal contributions, or at least to the powerful persuasions of bishops ; as most of the best endowed colleges in both our universities, very many hospitals, churches, palaces, castles, have been founded and built by bishops : even that famous chargeable and difficult structure of London bridge, stands obliged to the liberal contributions of an archbishop ; and it was a bishop of London, at whose earnest request William the Conqueror granted to the city of London so large privileges, that the lord mayor and aldermen upon some solemn days of their resort to St Paul's church, did, before the late dreadful fire, go in procession about the grave stone where that bishop lay interred.

" In these and such like particulars you may there see

that Dr William Juxton, archbishop of Canterbury's benefices amounted to £64,000; Dr Gilbert Sheldon, £57,000; Dr Brian Duppa, £46,000; Dr Frewen, beside abatements, £15,000; Dr Cosins, £66,000; Dr Warner, £59,600—Total, £307,600. Besides the deans and chapters there mentioned: Canterbury, £16,000; Winchester, £45,800; Durham, £1,500; Ely, £14,000; Exeter, 26,000; Lincoln, £11,000; Rochester, £10,000; Worcester, £19,000; Windsor, £28,500; York, £8,000; Wells, £8,000—£187,800; sum total, £495,400. The rest doubtless parted with their money proportionably."

He died April 22nd, 1731. His works, still highly esteemed, are, *The Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer*, as set forth in four sermons, preached at the Rolls chapel, 1716. *Decency and Order in Public Worship*, three sermons, 1723. A course of sermons on the Lord's Prayer, 1740, with several occasional sermons, and among them the *Rationale*, quoted above.—*Bisse's Works*. *Pocock's Preface to the Beauty of Holiness*.

BLACKALL, OFFSPRING, was born in London in 1654, and educated at Catherine hall, Cambridge. In 1690 he was presented to the living of South Okenden, Essex; and four years afterwards to the rectory of St Mary, Aldermanbury, London. He was also appointed chaplain to king William. In 1699 he preached a sermon before the house of commons, on the 30th of January, which occasioned a controversy between him and Toland respecting the claim of king Charles I. to the "Icon Basilike." The year following he preached the sermons at Boyle's lecture; and in 1707 was consecrated bishop of Exeter. Soon after this he had a controversy with Hoadley, on the doctrine of obedience. Bishop Blackall died at Exeter in 1716.

The character of this good Christian is thus given by sir William Dawes, archbishop of York, who published his sermons in two volumes, folio, in 1723.

"He declares, that in his whole conversation he never

met with a more perfect pattern of a true Christian life, in all its parts, than in him; so much primitive simplicity and integrity; such constant evenness of mind, and uniform conduct of behaviour; such unaffected and yet most ardent piety towards God; such orthodox and stedfast faith in Christ; such disinterested and fervent charity to all mankind; such profound modesty, humility, and sobriety; such an equal mixture of meekness and courage, of cheerfulness and gravity; such an exact discharge of all relative duties; and in one word, such an indifferency to this lower world and the things of it; and such an entire affection and joyous hope and expectation of things above. He says also, that his 'manner of preaching was so excellent, easy, clear, judicious, substantial, pious, affecting, and upon all accounts truly useful and edifying, that he universally acquired the reputation of being one of the best preachers of his time.' Felton, in his classics, commends him as an excellent writer. M. de la Roche, in his memoirs of literature, tells us, that our prelate was one of those English divines, who, when they undertook to treat a subject, dive into the bottom of it, and exhaust the matter. His works were published by archbishop Dawes, in 2 vols, folio, 1723, consisting of practical discourses on our Saviour's sermon on the mount, and on the Lord's Prayer, together with his sermons preached at Boyle's lecture, with several others upon particular occasions.

BLACKBURN, JOHN, was born in 1683, and graduated at Trinity college, Cambridge. At the revolution he became a non-juror. In the year 1726 he was consecrated a bishop by bishops Spinkes, Gandy, and Doughty, being attached to that section of the non-jurors which in the controversy with respect to the *usages*, adhered to the practice of the English church, as it stood at the time of the separation. Subsequently to the year 1733 the usages, certain primitive practices, were adopted by the non-jurors generally, but bishop Blackburn, as he opposed the

observance of them originally, continued his opposition consistently throughout the controversy. This is evident from a letter of Carte's, written in 1731, addressed to Corbet Kynaston. "I sent you word just as I left this place in July, of the opposition made by some presbyters to the re-union among the non-jurors, all whose bishops agreed in it except I. B., a copy of whose letter I send you in this. I must now acquaint you with what passed after I left the town. Those of their presbyters that opposed it, drew up a representation against it, a very pompous empty declamation (the penman supposed to be Mr William Law) and got in several to sign it, who had appeared friends to the union before: but Mr J. Creyk has a great influence, having the disposal of a great deal of money, left by Mrs Pincham and others to be distributed to the non-jurors.

"After this representation was sent, answer was made to it both by Dr Brett and Mr Smith of Durham, in which it was proved that what was desired was no alteration, for a declaration of their sense in interpreting any passage of the liturgy was no alteration in it: nor in reality was the mixture any: for in king Edward's liturgy, after water had been mixed with the wine, in the sight of all the people, the rubric went on to say, 'Then shall the priest put the bread and wine on the table.' Here the word wine was certainly used for the mixed cup. In the second liturgy of king Edward, all this rubric was left out, and no directions at all given about the cup: and so it stood, till after the restoration. The word 'oblations' was added to the prayer for the Church militant, and to prevent the clerk or sexton's placing the elements on the altar, which they considered as an oblation, a rubric was made directing the priest to place the bread and wine on the altar. So it stands now; and yet I cannot see that the term wine can now be interpreted to exclude the mixture, when in king Edward's first liturgy it undeniably expressed it. And yet this mixture is the only thing that looks like an alteration: so that the great stir made in the representa-

tion about giving up the church of England, has something in it ridiculous as well as intemperate.

“The country layman reflected on in the representation is Mr Smith of Durham, an excellent man, and what his learning is, his notes upon Bede’s Ecclesiastical History sufficiently shew. Endeavours were made to get the presbyters to recede from this representation, and there were hopes of succeeding, when Mr B. sent the inclosed letter to Mr Gandy, and therein quoted a passage, which he says was written by our master’s direction. This knocked all on the head again. Now I can hardly think that our master ever gave such directions; or if he did the affair must have been strangely misrepresented to him. I could wish, therefore, it was stated to him in its true light, for then I am persuaded he would give his approbation of it, and if he did, and that was once signified here, the union would be brought about, and executed here without any difficulty. This is therefore a very material point, and I should be very glad to have the matter cleared up, this pretence of his being averse to it being the main obstacle to so desirable an union. I sent you the terms before, so that I need not repeat them, only I shall mention one alteration I proposed, to get over Mr Blackburn’s objection: it was to be declared that the words in the prayers for the Church militant ‘that we with them may be partakers’ should be understood in the same sense as those in the burial office. Mr B. saying he did not understand them in the same sense, I proposed it to be expressed thus, in a sense agreeable to that passage in the burial office: he could not oppose this without making the Church inconsistent, so my amendment was agreed to. I wish you could communicate this to our friend, to whom I desire my humble duty may be acceptable: and if something could still be done in this affair, it would be infinitely to the satisfaction of, Dear Sir, yours entirely, Thomas Carte.”

This is an interesting letter. Law was among the opponents of the union, because the usagers proposed

on their own terms. It does not appear that there was to be any thing like mutual concession. Undoubtedly the majority of the non-jurors were usagers, but as Law and Blackburn never yielded, we may infer that the two communions yet continued distinct: Carte was among those who adopted the usages. Probably, Mr Kynaston, to whom the letter was written, had access to the Pretender, who is called, by Carte, their master. In the Lockhart papers, there is evidence, that the Pretender was displeased at these internal disputes: but Carte imagines, that the question had not been fairly represented. It is clear, therefore, that the new communion office was now adopted by some of those who had previously rejected it: and "it is mentioned," says Mr Perceval, "that in the year 1733, all the non-juring bishops of this time were in communion, except Blackburn, who stood alone, but on what account is not stated. It is, I think, clear from Carte's letter, that Blackburn stood apart on the ground of the usages, which were made terms of communion, and to which he could not consent. Having acted and agreed with Spinkes, he could not relinquish the use of the office of the Anglican Church." This occurred in 1741. He was buried in Islington church yard, and Nichols says: "When a schoolboy, I have often gazed with astonishment at the following epitaph, the meaning of which I was then unable to comprehend:

' Hic situm est quod mortale fuit
 Viri vere reverendi
 Johannis Blackbourne A.M.
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyteri,
 Pontificorum æque ac Novatorum Mallei,
 Docti, clari, strenui, prompti:
 Qui (uti verbo Dicam) cætera enim quis nescit?
 Cum eo non dignus erat,
 Usque adeo degener, mundus,
 Ad Beatorum Sedes
 Translatus est, 17 die Novembris
 A. D. MDCCXLI. ætat. suæ LVIII.

On the foot stone :

Christo qui vivit, morte perire nequit.

Resurgam. J. B.

Nunc, amice Lector, quisquis sis,

Ex hinc disce, qui es, et quid eris.'

The following particulars respecting his manner of life are taken from the MSS. of the Rev Richard Bowes, DD "Soon after the revolution he became one of those few truly conscientious men who refused the new oaths. From that time he lived a very exemplary good life, and studied hard : endeavouring to be useful to mankind both as a scholar and divine. To keep himself independent he became corrector of the press to Mr Bowyer, printer : and was indeed one of the most accurate of any who ever took upon him that laborious employ. He has given us a curious edition of lord Bacon's works, 1740. As I had the happiness of being long known to my most valuable friend, he was so kind to communicate the following particulars. That *Opprobrium Historiæ*, Burnet's Memoirs, were first put into his hands to be corrected for Bowyer's press. But the *honest* sons of the bishop made shamefully free with their father's manuscript. Mr Blackburn shewed some pages left out, relating to the prince of Orange, where his character was more at large and better drawn, more to truth and life. Several sheets concerning the Scots especially left out. As he was too honest to deal with such as have no honesty, he advised Mr Bowyer to be concerned no further in the impression : so it was taken out of his hands. This good man for several years past has been a non-juring bishop equal to most of our bench. I waited on him often in Little Britain, where he lived almost lost to the world, and hid amongst old books. One day, before dinner, he went to his bureau and took out a paper. It was a copy of the testimonial sent to king James (as he called him), signed by his lordship (Winchelsea) and two others (I think) in his behalf. He afterwards shewed me the commission for his conse-

eration. Upon this I begged his blessing, which he gave me with the fervent zeal and devotion of a primitive bishop. I asked him if I was so happy as to belong to his diocese? His answer was (I thought) very remarkable: dear friend, (said he) we leave the sees open, that the gentlemen who now unjustly possess them, upon the restoration, may, if they please, return to their duty, and be continued. We content ourselves with full episcopal power as suffragans."

He also edited Bale's Chronycle concerning syr Johan Oldecastle, 1729; and Holinshed's Chronicle. (See the Lives of Hickes, Collier, and Brett.)—*Lathbury. History of Non-jurors. Nichols's Bowyer.*

BLACKBURNE, FRANCIS, was born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, June 9, 1705, and was educated at Catherine hall, Cambridge. He was candidate for a fellowship, but failed to obtain it, either from incompetence of learning or because of his maintaining, with juvenile vanity, the principles of Locke and Hoadley. He was ordained in 1739, and soon after became rector of Richmond. At this time the tendency in unstable minds was to "go over" to Socinianism and dissent: with the heretics Blackburne warmly sympathized, but he never seceded. His reasons for not going over, as was expected, may be given in his own words. Like many egotists, he thought he could eulogise or vindicate himself more modestly, and at the same time write about himself more fully, by writing in the third person.

"Mr Blackburne had his objections to the liturgy and articles of the church of England, as well as Mr Lindsey, and in some instances to the same passages, but differed widely from him on some particular points, which, he thought, as stated by Mr Lindsey and his friends, could receive no countenance from Scripture, unless by a licentiousness of interpretation that could not be justified. But Dr Priestley and some of his friends having carried the obligation to secede from the church of England farther

than Mr Blackburne thought was either sufficiently candid, charitable, or modest, and having thereby given countenance to the reproach, thrown upon many moderate and worthy men, by hot and violent conformists, for continuing to minister in the Church, while they disapproved many things in her doctrine and discipline, he thought it expedient, in justice to himself and others of the same sentiments, to give some check to the crude censures that had been passed upon them. And, accordingly, intending to publish 'Four Discourses' delivered to the clergy of the archdeaconry of Cleveland, in the years 1767, 1769, 1771, and 1773, he took that opportunity to explain himself on this subject in a preface, as well on behalf of the seceders, as of those whose Christian principles admitted of their remaining in the Church without offering violence to their consciences."—Of Dr Priestley's conduct he speaks yet more decidedly in a letter dated Jan. 4, 1770, to a dissenting minister,—“I cannot think the dissenters will be universally pleased with Dr Priestley's account of their principles; not to mention that some degree of mercy seemed to be due to us, who have shown our benevolence to all protestant dissenters, and have occasionally asserted their rights of conscience with the utmost freedom. But no, it seems nothing will do but absolute migration from our present stations, in agreement with our supposed convictions; though, perhaps, it might puzzle Dr Priestley to find us another church, in which all of us would be at our ease, &c.” On the secession of Dr Disney from the Church, a circumstance which appears to have given him great uneasiness, he went so far as to draw up a paper under the title “An answer to the question, Why are you not a Socinian?” but this, although now added to his works, was not published in his life-time, from motives of delicacy. He had been suspected, from his relationship and intimacy with Mr Lindsey and Dr Disney, of holding the same sentiments with them, and his object in the above paper was to vindicate his character in that respect. Still, as it did not appear in his life-time, it could not

answer that purpose, and although we are now told that some time before his death, he explicitly asserted to his relation, the Rev Mr Comber, his belief in the divinity of Christ, the suspicions of the public had undoubtedly some foundation in the silence which in all his writings he preserved respecting a point of so much importance."

His first publication appeared in 1749, entitled, *An Apology for the Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the church of England*; it was a defence of a work written by a Socinianizer, the Rev John Jones, vicar of Alconbury, suggesting certain alterations in the liturgy. Blackburne was himself suspected of being the author of the *Disquisitions*, of which the manuscript had been submitted to his inspection. Blackburne, however, denied that he had any hand in the publication, and his biographer assigns the reasons:

"The truth," says he, "is, Mr Blackburne, whatever desire he might have to forward the work of ecclesiastical reformation, could not possibly conform his style to the milky phraseology of the '*Disquisitions*,' nor could he be content to have his sentiments mollified by the gentle qualifications of Mr Jones's lenient pen. He was rather (perhaps too much) inclined to look upon those who had in their hands the means and the power of reforming the errors, defects, and abuses, in the government, forms of worship, faith and discipline, of the established church, as guilty of a criminal negligence, from which they should have been roused by sharp and spirited expostulations. He thought it became disquisitors, with a cause in hand of such high importance to the influence of vital Christianity, rather to have boldly forced the utmost resentment of the class of men to which they addressed their work, than, by meanly truckling to their arrogance, to derive upon themselves their ridicule and contempt, which all the world saw was the case of these gentle suggesters, and all the return they had for the civility of their application."

Notwithstanding his hostility to Church principles, or perhaps in that age, for that very reason, Blackburne had first been appointed to a rectory, and now, though the friend and patron of heretics and schismatics, he was in 1750 appointed to the archdeaconry of Cleveland. Perhaps it was thought expedient to prefer him, to prevent his secession, when so many were going over to dissent. He ventured to attack the charge which the great and good Dr Butler, then bishop of Durham, delivered to his clergy in 1751. Archdeacon Blackburne, the associate and friend of those who refused to worship the God of Christians, was roused to indignation because a Christian bishop asserted doctrines, in the archdeacon's opinion diametrically opposite to the principles on which the protestant reformation was founded. He published his attack anonymously in 1752, under the title of a Serious Enquiry into the use and importance of External Religion.

He employed himself in several minor publications more or less heretical, and none of them of any intrinsic value, until 1757, when Dr Powell, of St John's college Cambridge, published a sermon on subscription to the liturgy and thirty-nine articles, in which he maintained that latitude was to be allowed to subscribers even so far as to admit of the assent and consent of different persons to different and even opposite opinions, according to their different interpretations of the propositions to be subscribed. On this sermon Blackburne published remarks. In his autobiography he gives us his sentiments on the subject of subscription.

"When he took possession of the living of Richmond, he had been engaged in a way of life that did not give him time or opportunity to reflect upon subjects of that nature with precision; and though, upon taking his first preferment, he determined conscientiously to perform the duties of it, yet he was by no means aware of the difficulties that afterwards embarrassed him in qualifying himself for holding it. He, therefore, then subscribed as

directed by law, without scruple, and without apprehending the obligation he laid himself under, according to the form, of giving his assent and consent to the whole system of the Church. When the same form was to be subscribed to qualify him to hold the archdeaconry and prebend, he consulted some of his friends, and particularly Dr Law (afterwards bishop of Carlisle), who gave him his opinion at large, containing such reasons, as had occurred to himself on the several occasions he had to undergo that discipline. He was likewise referred to Dr Clarke's Introduction to his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: and lastly, to the sixth article of the church of England; all which appeared plausible enough to satisfy him, for that time, that with these salvos and modifications, he might safely subscribe to the prescribed forms. Some time afterwards, however, upon a prospect of farther advancement to a considerable preferment, he took occasion to reconsider these arguments, and thought they fell short of giving that satisfaction which an honest man would wish to have, when he pledges his good faith to society in so solemn a form as that prescribed by the thirty-sixth canon, enjoining subscription to the articles and liturgical forms of the church of England.

“In this situation of mind, he set himself to examine into the rise and progress of this requisition in protestant churches, and into the arguments brought in defence, or rather in excuse of it; the result of which was the compilation since known by the name of the ‘Confessional, or a full and free enquiry into the right, utility, and success of establishing confessions of faith and doctrine in protestant churches.’ This work lay by him in manuscript for some years. He had communicated his plan to Dr Edmund Law, who encouraged him greatly in the progress of it, and appears by many letters in the course of their correspondence to have been extremely impatient to have it published. The fair copy, however, was never seen by any of the author's acquaintance, one confidential friend excepted, who spoke of its existence and contents to

the late patriotic Thomas Hollis, esq. to whom the author at this time was not personally known. Mr Hollis mentioned this manuscript to Mr Andrew Millar, the bookseller, who in 1763, intending a summer excursion to visit his friends in Scotland, was desired by Mr Hollis to call upon Mr Blackburne at Richmond, where, after some conversation, the manuscript was consigned to Mr Millar's care for publication, and accordingly came out in the spring of 1766. The only condition made with Mr Millar was, that the author's name should be concealed."

Such was the origin of *The Confessional*, a work which became celebrated from the controversy it excited, and which lasted from 1766 to 1772, when it seemed to be renewed with fresh vigor, in consequence of an application made to parliament by the ultra-protestant party for relief in the matter of subscription. The seceders to Socinianism, and persons tempted to go over, were at this time the persons who objected to the thirty-nine articles. In the controversy relating to *The Confessional* between seventy and eighty pamphlets were published, and what is extraordinary, most of them anonymously. Not above ten or twelve came out with the names of the writers attached to them. Of some of them the authorship is attributed to Blackburne.

In his latter years his character seems to have softened, and he spoke of some of the verities of Christianity, concerning which he had been supposed to be sceptical, as if he were a believer. He died in 1787.—*Life by his Son, Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.*

BLACKLOE, THOMAS, was a professor of theology in the popish college of Douay, and was afterwards one of the chapter formed in London by Bishop, the first Romish prelate in England.—(*See his Life.*)—He assumed an independent position, and formed a party in the chapter against Smith, the successor of Bishop, and procured his banishment from England in 1628. Against Gage also, who succeeded Smith, Blackloe waged war until he compelled him to resign the office of vicar-apostolic. Bering-

ton, the Roman catholic, thus speaks of Blackloe : “ He was a man of uncommon learning ; but his sentiments were often paradoxical, and he took a wanton pleasure in departing from the received idiom of the schools. Having taught much in our foreign seminaries, he had acquired many friends, the admirers of his virtues, rather than the followers of his opinions. These opinions excited a general notice, and the ignorant, and the malevolent, and the bigoted taking the alarm, represented the author as a dangerous innovator, and more than unstable in his faith. The whole body was divided ; but moderate men and men of learning would not sacrifice to the cries of ignorance the reputation of a person, whose extreme errors were the mere extravagances of genius. Dr Holden came forward in his defence : ‘ You know,’ says he to a friend, ‘ the greatest part of his adversaries (I mean those whose profession is to judge of such things ; for the laity, in matters of doctrine belonging to religion, ought to be hearers and learners, not teachers or judges) are brought up in your private seminaries ; and thence easily conceive, whatever they hear, either opposite to, or unmentioned in their master’s dictates, to be erroneous. Whereas, if they knew the latitude of our most learned men’s singular, and sometimes new-invented or renewed opinions, daily maintained, and problematically disputed, in our public schools, without the least suspicion of their integrity in catholic belief, they would not (if no way blinded with passion) so slightly shoot their censuring bolts at random, especially against a brother, and such a brother.’ This he wrote from Paris in 1657, where, as I before observed, he always resided. But the tongues of such adversaries could not be bridled, and the leading men amongst the clergy, the heads, particularly, of the chapter, were stigmatised as the abettors of error under the appellation of *Blackloists*. Mr Blackloe finally submitted his writings to the judgment of the holy see.”

Among his works are : *Institutiones Ethicæ*, 1660, in which an attack is made upon the Jesuits, and they pro-

cured a censure upon it from the faculty of theology : Douay. *De Medio Animarum Statu*, in which he denied that the prayers of the faithful can have any effect in releasing souls from purgatory. This treatise made a good deal of noise, and its purgatorial and other doctrines were branded in print as the *Blackloan heresy*. *De Obedientia et Gubernationis Fundamentis*, a work written in favour of Cromwell, and condemned by parliament, 1660.—*Berington's Memoirs of Panzani*. Dod.

BLACKWELL, GEORGE, was born in Middlesex, in 1544, and on the 27th of May, 1562, was admitted a scholar of Trinity college, Oxford, of which college he became fellow in 1566, taking his MA. degree in 1567. Here he became a Romanizer, and at length quitted the catholic church of England, but without at first joining the Romish sect in this country. After his perversion he resided for several years at Rome, and there, by his learning and good conduct, he conciliated the friendship of cardinal Bellarmine, father Parsons, and other eminent persons. He afterwards returned to England, and here his history becomes blended with the general history of the country. It is in these days so very important that the precise position of the Romish sect should be clearly understood, that in addition to what has been already stated in the life of Dr Bishop, we shall here enter more fully upon its history. The early history of the English sect is given by a Roman catholic clergyman, formerly of Oscott, in his introduction to the memoirs of Panzani, to whom reference has been made in a former article. His statements have been condensed and ably brought together by the Rev Leicester Darwall, in his “Outline of the ecclesiastical transactions of the English Romanists.” The writer of the present article having compared the narratives of Berington and Darwall with the documents published by Dod and Tierney, will only abbreviate the narrative of Darwall in what follows.

Shortly after the accession of queen Elizabeth, ten

of the dioceses had become vacant by death, so that there were only sixteen bishops remaining in the church. Of these, Kitchin of Llandaff was the only one who acknowledged the queen's supremacy; the other fifteen refused to take the oath and were deprived. Their names were—Heath (Archbishop York), Bonner (London), Tunstall (Durham), Goldwell (St. Asaph), Pates (Worcester), Oglethorpe (Carlisle), Watson (Lincoln), Thirlby (Ely), White (Winchester), Bourne (Wells), Bayne (Lichfield), Morgan (St. David's), Poole (Peterborough), Turberville (Exeter), and Man (I. of Man). Two of them, Pates and Goldwell left the country; Oglethorpe, Bayne, and Morgan died soon after their deprivation; while Watson of Lincoln who outlived the rest, survived till 1584. He and White, after a short confinement, obtained their liberty, though the former was finally committed to Wisbeach Castle, being accused of practising against the state. Bonner who—besides being, with Thirlby, accessory to the murder of his metropolitan—had glutted himself with innocent blood, was imprisoned for life in the Marshalsea,—a fate sufficiently lenient. As for the rest, some lived with the reformed bishops,—others retired to live and die upon their own estates or among their friends, as they pleased. All quietly submitted to the sentence passed upon them, and took no steps to continue their succession, which therefore ended, so far as they were concerned, with Bishop Watson.

With regard to the rest of the clergy, we read that out of 9,400, only 175 lost their preferments, for refusing either to take the oath, or to conform to the public liturgy; though it appears that after a while others surrendered their livings, when they found that no change favourable to their wishes was to be expected. Among the laity of all ranks, many remained Romanists at heart; though the great body of the nation, from whatever motives, conformed, frequenting the public service of the Church. "And in this service," (to use the words of Mr Berington,) "it must be allowed, when it came to be

regularly organized, there was a decency and a dignity well adapted to the sedate and philosophic character of the English people. The churches were the same, the orders of the hierarchy remained, and, what was calculated to conciliate the multitude, the communion table was placed where the altar stood, music was retained, all the old festivals, with their eves, were observed; the dress of the officiating ministry only was changed to a less gaudy and garish vesture. The use of the English language also, when the first impression was effaced, greatly contributed to attach the people to it; as did the admission of the laity to the cup."

So all passed on for about ten years, till the bull of excommunication was issued against Elizabeth by Pius V. (anno 1569); and it is not improbable but that the prudent and temperate measures of the queen would, by God's blessing, have brought all the nation to one faith, and caused the schism to wear itself out, had it not been for the deprived clergy, who being men of ardent minds and disappointed in their views of preferment, and hostile to the altered state of things, withdrew to the continent and were received as professors or students in the universities and monasteries, particularly of France, Flanders, and Italy.

The guide of these voluntary exiles and the soul of their plans was William (afterwards the famous cardinal Allen or Alan,—(*See his Life*)—the first who relinquished his preferments. In the year 1568, the tenth of Elizabeth, having drawn together many learned men who had been educated at Oxford and Cambridge, but were now scattered over the continent, he laid the foundation of a college or seminary at Douay in Flanders, then subject to the Spanish crown. This was succeeded by other establishments in Italy, Spain, and France. The chief design of these establishments was to perpetuate a succession of clergy, and to supply England with pastors of the Romish persuasion, as the old priests should die off. It seems however not unlikely that these proceedings tended to

discourage the bishops at home, and possibly lead to the extinction of their succession. "Seeing themselves deserted," says Mr Berington, "and hearing of foreign plans to which much praise was given, and on which the most sanguine hopes were founded, they persevered in the habits of retirement they had chosen, and entertained, it seems, no thoughts of perpetuating their hierarchy, or providing for days to come."

In a few years the number of those who came back to this country was considerable; and had they returned (as we would fain hope many of them did) actuated by a pure zeal of religion, and with sentiments of allegiance to their sovereign, they might have exercised their ministry unmolested. But father Parsons had now set his hand to the work, "a man," says Mr Berington, "with the sound of whose name are associated intrigue, devise, stratagem, and all the crooked policy of the Machiavelian school."

The secular clergy of the Romish sect in England unanimously resolved to present a supplication to the pope, praying him to restore them an ecclesiastical hierarchy in the government of bishops, "which bishops should be elected by the common consent of the clergy, and appointed by them to different districts." This took place about the year 1597. The Jesuits however were by no means disposed to allow this project to pass without opposition, nor were they at a loss for means to accomplish their end. Father Parsons was then in Spain, but no sooner was he informed of the proceedings of the clergy than he hastened to Rome. In the mean time, his faction at home, to lull the clergy into security, loudly applauded their design, while secretly they laboured to draw off some of them to their own side. They succeeded in gaining over Mr Blackwell, who consented to write a letter purporting that "for twenty years there had been no dissension between the secular priests and the Jesuits; that the reports stating the ambition of those fathers, were so far from the truth, that, on the contrary, the Jesuits were in

all places most notable examples of humility, gentleness, patience, piety and charity." This testimonial was committed to the care of Mr Standish, another clergyman whom they had won over, and with him dispatched to Rome.

"Father Parsons," to use Mr Darwall's words, "had now the game in his own hands." On the arrival of Standish at Rome, he presented him, with two clergymen, to Clement VIII, as the deputies from the secular priests in England. They presented their letter, entreating the pope "that he would kindly deign to appoint a superior over the English church, for so great were the dissensions between the secular priests and the laity, that many inconveniences necessarily must follow, unless one were placed over them, who by his authority might reconcile and reform them." Clement asked with surprise—"Doth what you have said proceed from the desire and consent of my loving priests in England?" Standish replied "What we have presumed to offer to your holiness, is done by the most assured and unanimous consent of our brethren."

The pope, thus deceived, committed the business to cardinal Cajetan, then protector of the English nation, and cardinal Borghese. The former being familiarly connected with father Parsons, entrusted him with the arrangement of the measure, and by his superior authority overruled his colleague.

Parsons was not long at fault. It was expedient for him to yield, in some degree, to the wishes of the clergy, or they would soon be at Rome with their *supplication* when his plot would be discovered, and perhaps frustrated. On the other hand, it would never do to allow them to have a bishop for their superior, as this would annul the project he had formed for the elevation of his own order, whose constitutions exclude them from the mitre. To combine these two objects—the silencing of the clergy, and the giving increased power into the hands

of the Jesuits—it occurred to him that the appointment of an archpriest would be the most desirable plan. He therefore recommended Blackwell to the cardinals as a suitable person for that office. They approved his choice; and it was determined that he should be nominated superior over the clergy of England and Scotland, with the title of archpriest. This was in 1598. In a MS. *Relation* presented by the regulars to Benedict XIV, about the year 1750, the transaction is thus stated: “That Clement VIII, greatly incensed that the clergy should have aimed to establish an independent hierarchy among themselves, and when he knew that the government of bishops was neither necessary nor useful to the catholics, commanded the protector to appoint an archpriest with assistants.”

It is plain, then, that the archpriest was a very imperfect and insufficient substitute for a bishop. So the secular clergy thought; and, though meeting with many rebuffs, they persevered in petitioning, till at length their wish was, in a manner, granted. For the present, however, the Jesuits had their way; and, though to appoint the archpriest from their own body would be too palpable and be offensive to many, yet they obtained their end so far as to procure the selection of one who was attached to their party, and to prohibit him, with the twelve assistants who were allowed him, “from determining any matter of importance without advising with the superior of the Jesuits” (at that time the distinguished Henry Garnet), “and some others of the order.”

But it was with no contented feelings that the clergy heard of the decision of the court of Rome. Great indeed was their resentment when they found how they had been over-reached and insulted, and when the archpriest arrived, declaring his title and power and demanding their submission. They felt satisfied that the whole was a contrivance of father Parsons, and that the pope and protector had been imposed upon. They therefore requested that they might not be urged to admit the autho-

rity of the archpriest, till it should be confirmed by an express brief, or till the pleasure of the pope were signified to them. Upon this, Blackwell, in conjunction with father Garnet, immediately dispatched agents through the kingdom, to collect signatures to a letter of thanks to the pope and cardinal for that "excellent form of government they had established over them. Several, influenced by promises or threats, gave their names, and a messenger set out for Rome. In the meantime, the heads of the clergy concerted their plans of opposition, and determined on sending two of their body to lay their complaints before the pope. They made choice of Dr Bishop and Mr Charnock, who took with them a *Remonstrance*, the chief heads of which were, "That the government of an archpriest for a whole nation seemed unprecedented and extraordinary; that it did not answer the ends of the mission, especially as to the sacrament of confirmation; that the divine institution required a hierarchy in every national church; that the measures of the appointment were taken by misinformation and surreptitious means; that the chief persons among the clergy had neither been advised with, nor had they consented, as the court of Rome had been made to believe; that the whole derogated from the dignity of the clergy; that it was a contrivance of father Parsons and the Jesuits, who had the liberty to nominate both the archpriest and his assistants; that the cardinal protector's letter, without an express bull from his holiness, was not sufficient to make so remarkable an alteration in the government of the church: that the archpriest being ordered to advise with the Jesuits in all matters relating to the clergy, was an unbecoming restraint upon their body, and without a precedent. For these, and such like reasons, they beg leave to demur in their obedience to the archpriest, till his authority shall be more legally established."

Thus the letter of thanks to the court of Rome, which was sent at the instance of Blackwell, was soon followed by less pleasing information, announcing the opposition

to the archpriest, and stating that two agents from the clergy were actually on their way to Rome. Having reached their destination about the beginning of 1599, they presented themselves before the cardinals Cajetan and Borghese. What their reception was we may imagine from the circumstance that at night they were arrested in their lodgings, and conducted under a guard of soldiers to the Roman college, where father Parsons presided. They were by him separately examined; after which, being again admitted to the cardinals, they underwent another interrogatory, and were reconducted to prison, where they remained four months, before they were allowed to return homewards.

“Such, thus far,” says Mr Berington, “was the issue of a solemn deputation from the Roman catholic clergy of England to his holiness Clement VIII!”

But the pope seemed now to be sensible that in authorizing the cardinal protector to appoint an archpriest, he had departed from precedent, and that the measure must be amended. He therefore issued a brief, dated April 6th, 1599, confirming whatever the cardinal had enacted, and superadding the usual mandates of a papal decree.

This brief restored tranquillity for a season, which was not however of long continuance. It forced obedience from the Romish clergy, but it could not reconcile them to all its injunctions. They could not endure having their concerns subjected to the Jesuits, nor could they thus submit to the harsh conduct of the archpriest, who was wont to exert a power, which his commission, it seems, did not always warrant. The result was another appeal to Rome against the oppression and maladministration of their superior, bearing date November 17th, 1600. It was signed by thirty-three priests in the name of themselves, of their brother priests, and of the Romish laity. This was followed nine months after by another brief from the pope, addressed to Blackwell and the clergy, confirming

the office of archpriest, suppressing their various publications against each other, and exhorting both parties to peace and charity.

Though Mr Berington admits that the general sentiments of this brief cannot be too much admired, yet he owns he is disgusted by those clauses of authority "wherein a pope of Rome takes upon himself to regulate the civil conduct . . . of British subjects in their mode of writing or treating a private matter of controversy But why send delegates ; or WHY APPEAL TO THIS DISTANT COURT, unless in circumstances *against which no private church has a remedy*, and for which the canons of general discipline have not provided ?"—*Why ?* indeed !

The clergy, however, finding a continuance of the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of the archpriest, again determined, after some months, to apply to Rome. Delegates were therefore sent, who procured a third brief from the pope, dated October 5th, 1602. It was addressed to the archpriest, and begins with admonishing him to use his power discreetly, and not to exceed his commission ; it forbids him, in transacting the duties of his charge, to communicate or treat with the provincial of the Jesuits, or any member of that society, and annuls the instructions of the late cardinal protector about that matter. It also condemns all books written against the society, or against any persons of either party, and closes with a suitable exhortation to brotherly charity and unity. Thus was the contention terminated ; and all the clergy were unanimous in their obedience to the archpriest, as long as that economy lasted.

The designs of father Parsons to alter the succession to the crown in favour of Spain have been already alluded to. So insecure indeed did the government of Elizabeth feel on account of the numerous plots set on foot and fomented by the Jesuits and seminary priests (whose foreign education extinguished every spark of loyalty), that it was found expedient to enact very severe laws against

them. On November 5th, 1602, the queen, by a proclamation, banished their party from the kingdom, forbidding them, under pain of death, ever to return to England; but to such clergy as would give a true profession of their allegiance she signified her desire to show favour and indulgence. This was eagerly embraced by some of the leading clergy, who came forward with a *Protestation of Allegiance*, bearing date January 31st, 1603, in which they avowed their loyalty and their readiness to obey her in all temporal matters.

The address was signed by thirteen only out of about four hundred secular priests. Queen Elizabeth soon after died.

It is the opinion of Mr Berington that if the Romanists in a body had, on the accession of king James, come forward with the Protestation of Allegiance, "we should, probably, have heard no more of recusancy or penal prosecution." The king entertained a good will towards them, and thought he could look for political support from them, should circumstances call for it; but in the creed of the majority—of the ministers, at least—he knew that there was a principle admitted—that of the pope's deposing power—which would ill accord with the royal prerogative. He charged them also with holding the doctrine of assassinating and murdering kings, as thinking it no sin, but rather a matter of salvation for subjects to rebel against their sovereign, if discharged of their allegiance by the pope. In this view he would be confirmed by the occasion of the Gunpowder Plot, contrived by Catesby and his desperate associates, for the destruction of himself and his parliament, November 5th, 1605.

Notwithstanding this, James was aware that there were many among the Romanists whose principles were sound and loyal, though some of them, from conscientious scruples, objected to the Oath of Supremacy: he therefore desired to offer them a political test, which would show the government who might safely be trusted. Ac-

cordingly, in the following year, an *Oath of Allegiance* was framed, to which it was thought every Romanist would cheerfully submit, who did not believe that the bishop of Rome had power to depose kings and give away their kingdoms. The oath was accordingly taken by many, both clergy and laity; “and a ray of returning happiness gleamed around them. But,” says Mr Berington, “a cloud soon gathered on the seven hills; for it could not be that a *Test*, the main object of which was an explicit rejection of the *deposing power*, should not raise vapours there.” The pope at that time was Paul V the late cardinal Borghese. To him the oath was presented by father Parsons: after deliberation he condemned it, in a brief addressed to the English Romanists, “as containing many things obviously adverse to faith and salvation.”

Previous to this Blackwell, though at first opposed to it, argued in favour of the oath; and even after a second papal brief re-asserting its unlawfulness, he persisted in maintaining and defending the opinion he had taken up. The opposition to the oath was purely factious, for it had been drawn up with the benevolent view of diverting popular odium from the English Romanists, by enabling them to disclaim upon oath such extravagant political principles as some members of the church of Rome had advocated.

Bellarmino, Blackwell's former friend, had remonstrated with him on his acceptance of the oath and for corresponding with him without permission of the government; Blackwell was apprehended June 24th, 1607. He was detained in close custody twelve days, during eight of which he underwent very rigorous examinations at Lambeth, before a board of commissioners. They examined him at great length, and elicited from him a series of judgments adverse to the political pretensions of Rome. The particulars of this examination were immediately published, under the following title,—“The large examination taken at Lambeth, according to his majesty's

direction, point by point, of Mr George Blackwell, made archpriest of England by pope Clement VIII, upon occasion of an answer of his, without the privity of the state, to a letter lately sent to him by cardinal Bellarmine, blaming him for taking the Oath of Allegiance, together with the cardinal's letter, and Mr Blackwell's letter to the Romish Catholics in England, as well ecclesiastical as lay. Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, printer to the king's most excellent majesty, 1607." Afterwards Blackwell addressed a second letter to the English Romanists, repeating his approbation of the oath, and advising them to take it, even to the neglect of papal briefs. This was too much for the endurance of Rome; and in 1608 he was superseded, George Birket, a clergyman of more conciliatory manners, being appointed archpriest. Blackwell died suddenly, January 12th, 1612.—*Darwall. Berington. Dod. Tierney. Butler. Collier.*

BLACKWALL, ANTHONY, was born in Derbyshire, in 1674, and educated as a sizar at Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of AM. in 1698, soon after which he became master of the free-school at Derby, and lecturer of All-Hallows in the same town. In 1722, he removed to Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, on being appointed master of the grammar-school there. In 1726 he was presented to the rectory of Clapham, in Surrey, which he resigned in 1729, and died the year following, at Market-Bosworth. He published *Theognidis Magarensis Sententiæ Morales Novâ Latinâ versione*; an Introduction to the Classics, 12mo; *Sacred Classics defended and illustrated*, 2 vols, 4to and 8vo. The design of the latter work is to vindicate the sacred writers of the New Testament from the charge of inelegance in respect of style, and to show that passages which have been adduced as instances of incorrect composition may be justified by the usage of classical authority. The work was useful in the last century, though the idea seems scarcely reverent to those who ascribe the authorship of the Bible to the Holy

Ghost. He published also a Latin grammar.—*Aikin Nichols.*

BLAIR, JAMES, was born and bred in Scotland, and ordained and beneficed in the episcopal church there; but meeting with some discouragements under an unsettled state of affairs, and having a prospect of discharging his ministerial function more usefully elsewhere, he quitted his preferments, and came into England near the end of Charles the Second's reign. It was not long before he was taken notice of by Compton, bishop of London, who prevailed with him to go as missionary to Virginia, about 1685; where, by exemplary conduct, and unwearied labours in the work of the ministry, he did good service to religion, and gained to himself a good report amongst all, so that bishop Compton being well apprised of his worth, made choice of him, about 1689, as his commissary for Virginia, the highest office in the church there; which, however, did not take him off from his pastoral care, but only rendered him the more shining example of it to the rest of the clergy.

While his thoughts were intent upon doing good in his office, he observed with concern that the want of schools and proper seminaries for religion and learning, so impeded all attempts for the propagation of the gospel, that little could be hoped for, without first removing that obstacle. He therefore formed a vast design of erecting and endowing a college in Virginia, at Williamsburgh, the capital of that country, for professors and students in academical learning: in order to which, he had himself set on foot a voluntary subscription, amounting to a great sum; and, not content with that, came over into England in 1693, to solicit the affair at court. Queen Mary was so well pleased with the noble design, that she espoused it with a particular zeal; and king William also very readily concurred with her in it. Accordingly a patent passed for erecting and endowing a college, by the name of the William and Mary college; and Mr Blair, who had the

principal hand in laying, soliciting, and concerting the design, was appointed president of the college. He was besides rector of Williamsburgh, in Virginia, and president of the council in that colony. He continued president of the college near fifty, and a minister of the gospel above sixty years. He was a faithful labourer in God's vineyard, an ornament to his profession, and his several offices; and in a good old age went to enjoy the high prize of his calling, in the year 1743. His works are: "Our Saviour's divine sermon on the mount explained; and the practice of it recommended in divers sermons and discourses," London, 1742, 4 vols, 8vo. The executors of Dr Bray (to whom the author had previously transferred his copyright) afterwards published a new impression, revised and corrected. Dr Waterland, who wrote a preface to the new edition, calls these sermons a "valuable treasure of sound divinity and practical Christianity."—*Chalmers*.

BLAIR, JOHN, was born in the county of Fife, in Scotland, in the 13th century, was educated at the school of Dundee with the celebrated sir William Wallace. On leaving school, Blair went to Paris to study theology, became a monk of the order of St Benedict, and changed his name of John into that of Arnold. On his return to Scotland, he went to reside at the monastery of Dufferling, where he remained till the year 1294, when Wallace having been appointed governor of the kingdom, Blair became his chaplain. He wrote the history of his life, in 1327, in Latin verse; a fragment only of this poem remains in the Cottonian library, which was published in 1705, by sir Robert Sibbald, the celebrated botanist. It is translated in Hume's history of the Douglasses. The time of this author's death is unknown.—*Makenzie's Scots Writers*.

BLAIR, HUGH, was born at Edinburgh, April 7, 1718. Being destined for a preacher in the presbyterian establishment, he was sent from the High-school to the college

of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M. A. in 1739 and two years afterwards was licensed to preach. His first living was Colessie, in the county of Fife, and in 1743 he became minister of the Canongate church, Edinburgh, where he continued eleven years, and was then removed to Lady Yester's, one of the city churches. In 1758 he was raised to the High-church of Edinburgh where he continued the rest of his life. In 1759, at which time he had obtained the degree of DD. from St Andrew's he projected a course of lectures on composition, which he accordingly read in the university with such reputation that, in 1762, a professorship of rhetoric and belles lettres was founded for him by king George III, with a salary of seventy pounds a year. About this time he distinguished himself as the zealous advocate of the poems of Ossian, in a "Dissertation prefixed to those pretended fragments of Gaelic antiquity." In 1776 he was prevailed with to publish a volume of sermons. The sale was so rapid that the author was induced to publish three more volumes, and a fifth was prepared by him for the press a little before his death. Nothing serves to shew the low state of religion in the middle of the last century, more than the popularity of these sermons, the polished productions of a superficial man of literature, equally deficient in the knowledge of the law and of the gospel. They were acceptable to all denominations, and even in the church of England the sermons of the presbyterian latitudinarian were freely circulated. He received a pension of two hundred a year, through the influence of queen Charlotte. In 1783 Dr Blair resigned his professorship, and the same year published his "Lectures," which have gone through several editions, and though superficial, are calculated to fix his reputation more permanently than his sermons. His last publication was a discourse delivered in 1796 before the society of the sons of the clergy in Scotland. He died at Edinburgh, December 27th, 1800. Dr Blair married, in 1748, his cousin Katherine Bannatine, by whom he had two children, who died before their parents.—*Life by Dr Finlayson.*

BLAISE, bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia, martyred by Agricola, governor of Cappadocia and of the Lesser Armenia, about the year 316. His fame is of long standing in the East; but the West cared little or nothing for him until an importation of his relics by the crusaders. These acquired a high character for miraculous cures, especially of children and cattle, and sore throats. His acts, written in Greek, have a very slender authority. He is the principal patron of the commonwealth of Ragusa. Why the wool-combers chose him as their patron is not very apparent,—whether because the first hint of their manufacture was brought from the East, or because of the iron combs with which he is said to have been tormented.—*Moreri. Butler.*

BLAMPIN, THOMAS, was born at Noyon, in 1640, and becoming a Benedictine of the congregation of St Maur, was selected by his superiors to complete the edition of St Augustine, which had been commenced by Francis Delfau. This important work was published between the years 1679 and 1700, and consists of eleven volumes, folio. He was accused of Jansenism by the Jesuits,—an accusation likely to be brought by Jesuits, against the editors of Augustine,—and the attack gave rise to a controversy, in which Blampin took no part. Having finished a work which will immortalize his name, he sought permission of his superiors to retire and give himself up to exercises of piety. But the permission was not granted, and after filling various important offices, he was nominated, in 1708, visitor of the province of Burgundy. He died on the 13th of February, 1710.—*Moreri.*

BLAND, JOHN, was rector of Adisham, in Kent, on the accession of queen Mary, having at one period of his life been “a bringer up of youth,” and having had for his pupil Edwin Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York. He was ejected from his living, in which he was superseded by

Thorneden, or Thornton, suffragan of Dover, who, himself celebrated for his tergiversation, sat as one of the judges when Bland was tried for heresy, in 1555. He was charged with denying. 1. The corporal presence; 2. That the sacraments should be administered in an unknown tongue; 3. That the eucharist should be administered only in one kind. These charges he nobly admitted; and on the 12th July, 1555, was burned to death at Canterbury.—*Fox. Strype.*

BLAYNEY, BENJAMIN, was educated at Worcester-college, Oxford, where he took his master's degree in 1753, and afterwards became fellow of Hertford-college, since dissolved. In 1787 he took his degree of doctor in divinity, and became professor of Hebrew. He was also canon of Christ church, and rector of Polshot, in Wiltshire, where he died in 1801. Dr Blayney was an excellent Hebraist and biblical critic. He published, 1. A Dissertation on Daniel's Seventy Weeks, 4to. 2. Jeremiah and Lamentations, a new translation, 8vo. 3. The Sign given to Ahaz, a sermon, 4to. 4. Christ the Glory of the Temple, a sermon, 4to. 5. Zechariah, a new translation, 4to. He edited the Oxford Bible in 1769, which, for the marginal references, is the most correct in our language. His manuscripts were deposited in the library at Lambeth, by his friend bishop Berington, to whose disposal he had left them.—*Gent. Mag.*

BLESENSIS, PETER, or PETRE of Blois, was keeper of the great seals to William II, king of Sicily, in the 12th century, and afterwards was admitted to the confidence of Henry II, king of England. In 1175 he was archdeacon of Bath, and afterwards became archdeacon of London and chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury. He was distinguished for his plain speaking, of which we have an instance in his remonstrance addressed to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury:

He acquaints him, “his government was deeply censured: that people taxed him with inactivity, and sleeping over his charge: that all the misfortunes of the Church were imputed to his want of zeal and resolution: that the ark of God was taken by the Philistines; the Church harassed, and depressed by harpies and libertines; the sword of St Peter eaten up with rust; the honour of God blasphemed; the Sacraments grown contemptible, and all through the negligence of his administration. They say, says he, it is your fault that Malchus attempts to seize our Saviour; that Pashur outrages the prophet Jeremy; and Belshazzar debauches in the vessels of the temple. When I mention your humility and inoffensive behaviour, they count this a cold commendation, and a lean character for a prelate. They object, these virtues are but slender qualifications for a person of your station: that bare abstaining from evil without doing good, falls short of the duty of an archbishop; and that a barren tree will be cut down and cast into the fire. They complain, you found the Church in an admirable condition: that now affairs are much altered for the worse, discipline decayed, and the honour of religion sunk, by your cowardice and inactivity. These reproaches are a great mortification to me, and yet I am in no condition to silence them.

“When I commend you for repairing the houses, improving the farms, and managing the revenues of the archbishopric, they will not allow it for any defence; this plea serves only to revive their satire upon you. And what is a farther addition to my grief is, that the king, who, to my knowledge, has a hearty regard for you, is sensible of your feeble management. That he is so, appears by the private reprimands he has given you. How often has he lamented your tameness and neglect, and put you in mind of the encouragement given to disorder by the slackening of discipline? Neither have you any reason to complain of want of support and countenance; for I, who have sometimes the honour to attend the king, heard him amongst other expressions of favour, speak this

remarkable sentence ; I would desire my lord archbishop to take notice, says the king, that if any person of the highest quality, not excepting my own son, shall presume to embarrass their primate of Canterbury, and hinder him in the execution of his office, I will revenge the affront as deep, as if it had been a treasonable attempt against my own crown and dignity. I know, continues Blesensis, that the king has been very desirous a great while that you would awaken your courage, and exert your authority : that your hand, if I may say so, would take hold on judgment, and reprove for the meek of the earth.

“He proceeds to excuse the freedom of his remonstrance, and, at last, endeavours to excite the archbishop to his duty from the topics of a future account and the terrors of another world.”

He died about the year 1200. His works were published at Paris in 1667, and in one of his letters (the 140th) the word transubstantiation is used : the first time of its occurrence, it is supposed, in any author, in its present theological sense. His continuation of Ingulph was first published at Oxford, in 1684.—*Le Neve. Blount. Collier.*

BLONDEL, DAVID, was born at Chalons, in Champagne, in 1591, and being admitted into the protestant ministry in 1614, officiated for some time at Houdan, near Paris. He wrote a defence of the reformed churches of France, in answer to the bishop of Luçon, afterwards cardinal Richelieu, which gained him great reputation. The national synod of Charenton chose him honorary professor in 1645 ; and on the death of Vossius, he succeeded him at Amsterdam as professor of history, where he died in 1655. His principal works are, Explications on the Eucharist ; on the Primacy of the Church ; Treatise on the Sybils ; and on Bishops and Presbyters. He left several marginal notes in his copy of the annals of Baronius, to which he at one time intended to write a reply, in vindication of protestantism. This copy was presented

by the magistrates of Amsterdam to the public library in that city, and the notes were published, with a little addition of his own, by a refugee minister of Bern. They are said to be of little or no value. His refutation of the idle tale about pope Joan gave great offence to those of the ultra-protestants whose hatred of Rome predominated over their love of truth.—*Moreri*.

BLOSIUS, or DE BLOIS, FRANCIS LEWIS, was born in 1506, at the chateau of Donstienne, in the territory of Liege. Being of a noble family he was educated with the emperor Charles V, until the age of fourteen, when he assumed the Benedictine habit in the monastery of Liesses, in Hainault. He was soon made coadjutor to the abbot, and in 1530 became abbot himself. Here he employed himself in reforming his monastery, for which he drew up a body of statutes, approved by pope Paul III, in 1545. He could not be induced to quit his monastery, although Charles V earnestly pressed upon him the archbishopric of Cambray. He died on the 7th of January, 1566, although his death is placed by some in the year 1563. As a devotional writer he has been much esteemed. His works were printed in one volume, folio, at Cologne, in 1571. The most celebrated of them is, the *Speculum Religiosorum*, or *Dacryanus, the Weeper*, so called from the tears shed by the author over the relaxation of monastic discipline.—*André du Chêne, Hist. de la Maison de Chatillon. Anonym. assud. Bollandum*.

BLOUNT, JOHN, called in Latin Blondus, or Blundus, a divine of the 13th century, was educated first at Oxford and afterwards at Paris, where he greatly distinguished himself by his learning and talents. His high character became more completely established on his return to Oxford, where he read divinity lectures. He was prebendary and chancellor in the church of York. His name is chiefly known as connected with a shameful transac-

tion of the papal court towards our beloved church. In the year 1232 Richard Wethershed, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and the monks of Canterbury chose as his successor Ralph Nevile, bishop of Chichester.

This prelate was then chancellor of England, and behaved himself in that office to great commendation, being very remarkable for the equity and expedition of his decrees. He was a person of that integrity and fortitude, that neither favour, money, nor greatness, could make any impression upon him. The monks expecting an admirable governor in a person thus qualified, presented him to the king. The king was well pleased with the election, and put him in possession of the manors, and temporalities of the archbishopric. Upon this, the monks going to Rome to have their election confirmed, desired Richard to furnish them with money for their journey. The bishop looking upon such a contribution as a mark of simoniacal ambition, plainly told them, he would not be at a penny charge upon that occasion. The monks believing the refusal to proceed more from honesty than penuriousness, made a voyage to Rome, and desired the pope to confirm the election. The pope having received a character of Richard from Simon Langton, told the monks, that their elect was a court divine; a man of little learning, and very warm, and sudden in his temper: and, which was still more exceptionable, it was to be feared, that if he was promoted to so great a post, he would make it his business to disengage the kingdom of England from their late homage to the see of Rome, and stop the customary acknowledgment of that crown: and that the king and people of England would readily concur with such a motion. It seems the pope was afraid that bishop Nevile might be encouraged to such an attempt by the precedent of the late archbishop Langton, who remonstrated against the king's yearly payment of a thousand marks, and entered his protest in writing against resigning the crown to the pope.

This character of Nevile lost him his promotion ; and the monks were ordered to proceed to a new election, and choose a person that might prove more serviceable to the court of Rome. About this time the Italian priests had engrossed a great many benefices in England, and impoverished the kingdom by exporting the treasure : and in these promotions, it seems, they had managed themselves with great avarice, and indiscretion ; not suffering the bishops to prefer the natives, till foreigners, and creatures of the court of Rome were first served. The nobility and commons resented this usage, and resolved upon a rash expedient : being formed into a sort of association, they wrote to the respective bishops and chapters, letting them know they would endure the arbitrary oppressions of the Romans no longer, warning them not to encourage their encroachments, or be any ways assisting to them, under the penalty of having their houses burnt, and their farms harassed and destroyed. They likewise wrote to the monks, and others who hired Church farms of the Italian clergy, not to pay them any rent or arrears, under the menaces above-mentioned. These threatening letters were sealed with a new seal, engraved with two swords, with this inscription, *ecce Gladii duo hîc*, and dispersed by gentlemen of the association. Neither were these menaces without effect : for soon after one Cincius a Roman clerk, and prebendary of St Paul's was taken upon the road near St Albans by men in vizards, carried off, and kept five weeks in durance, and forced at last, to a high composition for his liberty. The barns of the Italian clergy were broke open, their corn sold, and sometimes given to the poor : and when those that committed these outrages were questioned, they produced counterfeit letters patents for their warrant ; and it was thought these liberties were countenanced under-hand by the magistracy. As for the Roman clergy, they were glad to retire into monasteries, and secure their persons : and yet, the men that appeared in these riots, were seldom above five and twenty.

When the pope was informed how his countrymen

were outraged, he wrote an expostulatory letter to the king, in which he puts him in mind "how much himself and his father had been obliged to the see of Rome. How they had been screened from the insults of their rebellious subjects, cherished with particular marks of favour, and taken into the protection of the Church: from hence he proceeds to mention the ill treatment of his nuncios and ministers: that one of those who came with an authority from the holy see, was cut in pieces, and another left half dead: that the letters and credentials of their character were torn, and the bull trodden under foot: that the Italian clergy in England were seized, plundered, and harassed to that degree, as if one of the ten persecutions was acting over again, and the cruelties of Nero revived. He charges some of the prelates with connivance at these disorders; and after a great many strong expressions upon the ingratitude of the kingdom, he moves earnestly, that those who have suffered, may have speedy reparation, and the malefactors be brought to condign punishment."

The election of Nevile being voided, the monks of Canterbury chose their subprior John for their metropolitan, which election was approved by the king. The elect took a journey to Rome, underwent the test at the pope's court, and had nothing objected either as to life or learning.

However, he was refused upon the score of his age: the pope told him that since he was so far past the strength of his years, it was more advisable for him to decline so public a station. And thus being an easy, good natured old man, he was prevailed with to resign the election.

The monks of Canterbury now elected John Blount, but in their nomination of him they were not more fortunate, for Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, having given him a thousand marks, and lent him another thousand, corrupt objects were attributed to these transactions, and he was accused of simony. He was also accused of holding two benefices with cure of souls, without a dispensation, although the benefices, as he pleaded, were so held

before the decree of that general council which condemned pluralities had been promulgated. Whatever was the real reason of Blount's rejection, his contemporaries treated that assigned for it as a mere pretence. "Perhaps," says Bale, "Blount was more learned than the court of Rome desired an archbishop of Canterbury to be," for popes before the reformation were as jealous of archbishops as the advisers of monarchs have been since. Matthew Paris assigns as a reason for his rejection, a letter, soliciting interference in his behalf from the bishop of Winchester to the emperor, who was not in favour with Gregory IX. Archbishop Parker attributes his rejection to a fear that an able man, like Blount, might imitate Langton, in taking a more patriotic and independent position than was consistent with papal interests, and the hopes that king John's disreputable submission had encouraged. After Blount's disappointment he returned to Oxford, and passed the remaining sixteen years of his life in the composition of several learned works, and amongst them, various commentaries on Holy Scripture. He died in 1248.—*Matt. Paris. Matt. Westm. De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. Collier. Bale.*

BLOUNT, or BLONDY, RICHARD, was consecrated bishop of Exeter in 1245. Godwin says of him: "Richard Blondy was consecrated 1245. This Richard was a man of mild spirit, but very stout against such as in his time did offer any injury to the Church. In his old years being but a weak man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were about him. They taking the opportunity of time, used all the means they might to enrich themselves. His chiefest officers were one Lodesewell, his chancellor, Sutton, his registrar, Fitzherbert, his official, and Ernestowe, the keeper of his seal: these, with other of the household, compacted amongst themselves, whilst the bishop was yet living (who then lay sick and very weak in his bed) to make unto themselves conveyances of such livelihoods as then lay in the bishop's disposition; and

accordingly made out advowsons and other such grants, and to them seemed best: all which were forthwith sealed and delivered according to the orders among them concluded. These their subtle dealings were not so closely conveyed but that the next bishop following, boulded and found them the same out; and did not only reverse all their doings, but also excommunicate them; neither were they absolved until they had done penance for the same at St Peter's church, openly, upon Palm Sunday, being the 19th day of March, 1267. This bishop in the 12th year of his bishopric died, to wit, anno. 1257, and was buried in his own church."

BOCHART, SAMUEL, was born at Rouen in 1599. His mother was a sister of Peter du Moulin. At the age of fourteen he wrote some Greek verses in praise of Thomas Dempster, a Scotchman, under whom he studied at Paris. Bochart, after a liberal education at Sedan and Saumur, came to England, and was a student for some time at Oxford, where he applied to oriental learning. He next went to Leyden, and studied Arabic under Erpenius. On his return to France he was chosen protestant minister at Caen, where he held a public dispute with father Veron, a Jesuit, entrusted by the court with a special mission to dispute in favour of Romanism, the particulars of which were published in two vols, 8vo. While at Caen he became tutor to Wentworth Dillon, earl of Roscommon. In 1646 he published his celebrated work, *Phaleg et Canaan seu Geographia Sacra*, which Michaelis published, with a supplement, in 1780, correcting the mistakes and supplying the omissions. In 1652 he went to Sweden, at the invitation of the queen, who gave him many marks of her favour. In 1653 he was admitted a member of the academy of Caen, and died suddenly while speaking in that assembly, in 1667. His works are—1. *Phaleg et Canaan; seu Geographia Sacra*, 1646, mentioned above. 2. *Hierozoicon*, or an account of the animals mentioned in Scripture, printed at London in 1675, folio, and re-

printed at Leipsic by Rosenmuller, in 3 vols, 4to, 1793. Bochart also wrote several tracts of great value, as one upon the terrestrial paradise, one on the plants and precious stones mentioned in the Bible, and others, all of which were published in the edition of his works printed in Holland, in 3 vols, folio, 1712.

BOEHM. See BEHMEN.

BOERNER, CHRISTIAN FREDERICK, was born at Dresden in 1685, and became professor of theology at Leipsic, where he died November 19, 1753. His principal works are—1. *De exulibus Græcis iisdemque literarum in Italia instauratoribus*, 8vo. 2. *De ortu atque progressu Philosophiæ moralis*. 3. *De Socrate, singulari boni ethici exemplo*. 4. *De Lutheri actis, anno 1520, &c.* 4to. 5. *Institutiones theologiæ symbolicæ*, 4to. 6. *Dissertationes Sacræ*. He also published an edition of Luther's works, in 22 vols. folio, and an edition of Le Long's "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," 2 vols, 8vo. He once possessed a MS of part of the New Testament which is known by the name of *Codex Boernerianus*. It contains all the epistles of St Paul except that to the Hebrews. It is noted G in the second part of Wetstein's New Testament, and was collated by Kuster. The antiquity of this MS. is proved by the form of the characters, and the absence of accents and of marks of aspiration. It seems to have been written during the period of transition from uncial to small letters; and from resemblances to the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, it is thought to have been written in the West between the eighth and twelfth centuries. It is now in the royal library at Dresden, but a copy of it is in that of Trinity college, Cambridge, among the books and MSS. left by Dr Bentley.—*Michaelis. Biog. Univ.*

BOETHIUS, BOECE or BOEIS, HECTOR, whose biography belongs to that of historians rather than of divines, was born at Dundee about the year 1170. He studied first at

Dundee and Aberdeen, he was then sent to the college of Montague, in the university of Paris, where he applied himself to philosophy, and became a professor. Here he had an opportunity of contracting an acquaintance with several persons of learning, who were students at this university, particularly Erasmus, who kept up a correspondence with him afterwards. Dr William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, having founded King's college in that city, about the year 1500, sent for Boethius from Paris and appointed him principal. He took for his colleague Mr William Hay, his fellow student in Scotland, and by their joint labour the kingdom was furnished with several eminent scholars. Upon the death of his patron, bishop Elphinstone, in 1514, he undertook to write his life, and prefixed the lives of his predecessors in that see. It is written in Latin, and entitled, *Vitæ Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium*. Paris, 1522, 4to. The see was originally placed at Mortlick, or Murthlack, in the shire of Banff, thirty-six miles from Aberdeen. It was removed to Old Aberdeen about the year 1106. He begins at Beanus, the first bishop of that see, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was bishop when the book was published. A third part of the work is spent in the life of bishop Elphinstone, for whose sake the work was undertaken. He next applied himself to write in the same language the *History of Scotland*, the first edition of which was printed at Paris by Badius Ascensius in the year 1526, which consisted of 17 books, and ended with the death of king James I; but the next edition in 1574 was much enlarged, having the addition of the 18th book and part of the 19th: the work was afterwards brought down to the reign of James III, by Johannes Ferrerius, a Piedmontese. Dr Makenzie observes, that of all the Scottish historians, next to Buchanan, Boethius has been the most censured and commended by the learned men who have mentioned him. He certainly seems to have drawn occasionally on his imagination for facts. He died about the year 1550.—*Biog. Brit. Makenzie. Keith.*

BOILEAU, JAMES, brother of the French poet, was born in 1635. He became a doctor of the Sorbonne, dean of Sens, and canon of the holy chapel at Paris: he was also dean of the faculty of theology. He died in 1716. He was no less inimical to the Jesuits than his brother, and said of them, that "they lengthened the creed and abridged the commandments." He published *De Antiquo jure Presbyterorum in Regimine Ecclesiastico* in 1676, in which, on primitive principles, he maintained the right of presbyters to have a share in the government of the Church. His *Historia Confessionis Auricularis* was published in 1683, against Daillé. His *Historia Flagellantium* in 1700, was written to prove that voluntary flagellations were contrary to the practice of the primitive church. This work was translated into French without the author's consent, and gave great offence, by some passages which seemed to be indecent. These he retracted or suppressed. His other works were, *Historica Disquisitio de Re Vestitaria Sacri, Vitam communem More Civili traduentes*, 1704. His *Disquisitio Theologica de Sanguine Corporis Christi post Resurrectionem, ad Epistolam 146, S. Augustini*, 1681, was written against Allix, protestant minister of Charenton, against whom he also published a translation of Bertram, or Ratramn, with notes. —*Moreri*.

BOLD, JOHN, was born at Leicester, in 1679, of an ancient family, and educated academically at St John's college, Cambridge, where he was matriculated at fifteen, and took his degree of B.A. with great credit in 1698. When admitted into holy orders, the bishop, pleased with his proficiency, purposed to make him his chaplain. But the prelate's death rendered this kind intention unavailing, and Bold remained through life upon the curacy of Stony Stanton, Leicestershire, to which he was ordained. His income from his curacy amounted to £30 a year, with a few shillings additional in fees, and he had no private

fortune. Of this income he laid by at interest £5 yearly, to answer purposes either of exigency while living, or of posthumous beneficence; £5 he bestowed in alms or in printing religious tracts, composed by himself, and distributed among his people; £5 he expended in apparel; upon the remaining £15 he subsisted. Upon his first entrance on the cure he paid £8 a year for his accommodation at a farmer's. He sat by the farmer's fireside, at a little table, upon which was served his plain and temperate meal, sent to him from the farmer's table; on which, too, he composed his discourses. On the fast-days of the Church, with the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, he tasted no refreshment after service till evening, and then a couple of eggs, with a little milk-porridge, was his whole repast. On ordinary days, his breakfast consisted of water-gruel; and after his homely dinner, he took a measured half-pint, and no more, of ale, of his own brewing. No luxury of tea intervened betwixt his dinner and a little boiled milk for his supper. He declined dining visits abroad, and was very backward in receiving any present for supply of his table; if any was sent, it was given by him to the common table of the family. The poor were much attached to him, and a poor man would sometimes ask his company to a christening dinner; but he always made a present to the mother exceeding the value of his entertainment. He never entered into convivialities, not even upon the ground of conciliatory conduct, which loses more in respect than it gains in usefulness. There is in a civil reserve what the artists call a relief, which gives distinction to what should be regarded as holy, above what is common. His ordinary dress was calculated to answer the same end; it was a folding gown of woollen stuff, girt about the waist. He always wore a band, and was ever decent in his appearance. The price of boarding increased upon him from time to time: at first it was £8 a year; next £12; and finally, before his death, it was raised to £16. As he

declined in years, and required more attention, he promised that in whatever family he should die, he would bequeath his chamber furniture and £100 as a requital for their services ; which he accordingly fulfilled. In his walks he would occasionally call upon his few surrounding clerical neighbours ; and at midsummer he usually borrowed a horse, to make a little round of short visits to the neighbouring clergy. With his private life, his pastoral labours and ministrations were correspondent. He held, with many of our divines, the moral obligation of the Lord's day. Its preceding eve he observed as preparatory to the celebration of the day itself ; for it is impossible to go with heads and hearts full of this world immediately in pious composure to the solemnities of religious worship. The afternoon, therefore, or the evening of the Saturday, this good curate employed in the instruction of the younger parishioners in the elementary principles of the Christian faith ; for the Sunday duties of prayer, and a sermon twice a day, with baptizing, and visiting the sick, was sufficient employment for the day.

Of his works, Mr Nichols says, that it was agreed that he wrote better than most contemporary divines, and that his style bore a great resemblance to that of Addison. Of these four may be mentioned : 1. A Tract on Education, written while he taught a school at Hinkley, which contains quotations from the classics and the fathers. 2. Religion is a most delightful employment. 3. The sin and danger of neglecting public worship. 4. An address to his parishioners upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; the duty and advantage of frequent communion ; with suitable prayers annexed. The three first were placed on the list of an ancient society, conducted by professing members of the church of England, and formerly distinguished for its orthodoxy, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The last went through three editions. The tract, " Religion the most delightful employment," is concluded thus : " Forgive, O heavenly Father, the unworthy author of this treatise, whatever

hath been offensive to Thy divine Majesty in any part of his life past. Pardon and deliver him from all his sins; confirm and strengthen him in all goodness, and bring him to everlasting life." Some other prayers are added, chiefly from Mr Nelson.

His tract upon the duty of worthy communicating, "designed for the meanest capacity," (first published, March 7, 1726,) is accompanied with suitable prayers and heads of examination. The affectionate manner in which he speaks to his flock, is worth noticing. "My dearly beloved brethren, it is my earnest desire, and constant prayer to God, that I may faithfully discharge my own duty, and become the happy instrument of advancing the glory of God, and setting forward your eternal salvation; but I am sensible that all the pains I can take amongst you will be to no purpose, and all my labours ineffectual towards the bringing you safe to heaven, unless I can bring you to a true sense and regular practice of that great and important duty of receiving the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper "

It being the great design of Mr Bold to form the temper of his flock to habitual piety, under the promised assurance, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them," (Matt. xviii. 20,) he effectually prevailed with many of his parishioners to attend divine worship every day in Lent, and twice a week at other seasons.

As Mr Bold was, from principle, a firm friend to our church liturgy and doctrines, so did he zealously support and recommend them, both by his doctrine and by his pious labours, being studious to bring all his parishioners to the unity of the Church, following in this the example of the apostle to the Corinthians; "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same judgment. Is Christ divided?" In the most solemn hour of our Lord's life, He prays to the Father for

this unity amongst all who should believe on His name ; “ that they may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.” The unity of the faith, therefore, and the unity of the Church, we learn from hence, is a means of maintaining the Christian faith in the world. Causeless schism, therefore, is a sin which violates peace and charity, and is the parent of persecution, and injurious to the faith, and has frequently been objected by unbelievers. “ How,” say they, “ can *you* urge *us* to believe, when you are not agreed among yourselves *what* to believe ? ”

Mr Bold had the satisfaction before his death of seeing so much religious union among his parishioners, that there was not a single dissenter among them : their number was about 350, and they were generally attendant upon the public service ; and the younger part upon his catechetical instruction on the Saturday afternoon. Although he had an offer of preferment, he chose voluntarily to devote his whole life to the spiritual welfare of this one poor parish, under the conviction that, by so doing, he should “ make his example and doctrine the more striking and effective,” and so best fulfil the solemn obligations that he had undertaken ; and by his great economy, he was enabled to requite the assistance of a neighbouring clergyman, when disabled by infirmity during the last four years of his life. Thus aiding his parishioners by his self-denial and economy, when his physical powers failed. He gave more than half his income, £16 a year, to his fellow-labourer, and relaxed his own labours no more than his weakness required. His co-curate was a man like minded with himself. This saint of the church of England died 29th October, 1751, enabled by his savings of £5 a year to make many bequests, and among them, one for a sermon once a year in Lent, “ on the duty of the people to attend to the instructions of the minister whom the bishop of the diocese should set over them.”

The two distinguishing marks of John Bold's character were holiness and benignity: the whole concern of his life was to illustrate and enforce each, and to transfuse similar principles into his flock. He will always be held in honour by the despised but most honourable class of men, the parish priests of the church of England.—*Burns's Lives of Englishmen. Nichol's Hist. of Leicestershire.*

BOLLANDUS, JOHN, was born in the Netherlands, on the 13th of August, 1596, and at the age of sixteen became a Jesuit. He was appointed by his superiors in 1629 to continue a work projected by Hesibert Rosweide, entitled *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. To carry on this history of the canonized dead he removed to Antwerp, and established a general correspondence throughout Europe, instructing his friends to search every library, register, or repository of any kind where information might be found. He had for his assistant Godfrey Henschen. The first of their labours appeared in 1643, when two volumes folio appeared containing the lives of the saints whose days occur in January. In 1658 the saints of February appeared in three volumes. He now had in Daniel Paperbroch another assistant, and was proceeding with the saints of March, but this part of his work he left incomplete, at his death, on the 12th of September, 1665. Henschen and Paperbroch continued their labours, and March was published in three volumes in 1668. April appeared in three volumes in 1675. Henschen died in 1680, when the first sixteen days of May were published. A series of writers continued the work under the name of Bollandists; but although the collection fills fifty-three volumes folio, it only reaches to the 14th of October.

“This vast collection,” says Dupin, “may well be compared to a net thrown into the sea, which takes all sorts of fishes, since it comprehends all kinds of acts, and all the lives of saints, who have been good, indifferent, wicked, true, doubtful and supposititious. It is true, that

those who publish them give their opinion upon each of these lives, and reject many of the pretended saints, and discover several gross fables that are inserted in the account of their lives; but still approve them in the main, either expressly, or by their silence. F. Bollandus was more inclinable than his colleagues, to approve the popular traditions; Henschen and Paperbroch appear to have been less credulous, and have taken the liberty, or rather a commission from the former, to remark and correct the faults into which he was fallen. What precaution soever they have taken, they have not hindered those who were attached to the popular errors, or who were engaged in point of interest to defend old fables, from making loud complaints against the observations of these authors. This has also drawn upon them a quarrel with the Carmelites, because they have not given into their visions, with regard to the antiquity of their order, of which they make the prophet Elias, patriarch. They have published against them many libels, under borrowed names, and with extraordinary and fantastical titles.”—*Moreri. Dupin.*

BOLSEC, JEROME HERMAS, was a monk of the order of Carmelites in Paris, and became a preacher in St Bartholomew's church, where he gave some offence, and forsaking his order, fled to Ferrara. He afterwards went to Geneva where he practised as a physician, and failing in this, gave his attention to theology. He and Calvin soon quarrelled. In 1551 he publicly maintained that calvinistic predestination makes God the author of sin,—that election is not the source but the consequence of our faith,—and that the doctrine held by Calvin on these points was not the doctrine of St Augustine and the fathers, but a late invention. Calvin was among the auditors of Bolsec on this occasion, concealed in the crowd: he immediately came forward and made a long speech in favour of his pet doctrines, and, according to the statement of Beza, refuted Bolsec “with so many solid arguments that every body was miserably ashamed of him,

except the brazen-faced monk himself." The calvinists, we see, could give as well as take hard language. But in those days it was more dangerous to attack Calvin than the pope; and perhaps a proof that Calvin's vindication was not quite so triumphant as his panegyrist would represent, is to be found in the fact, that "for turbulently warning the people against their pastors," Bolsec was cast into prison. He was afterwards banished from the territory of Geneva on the pain of being whipped if he should return thither. The toleration of ultra-protestants was not very conspicuous in those days: but Bolsec was a bad man; and having first been admitted as a preacher among the protestants at Orleans, where in 1562 he recanted his objections to calvinism, he relapsed to popery, and in 1577 published a life of Calvin. In 1582 he wrote a biography of Beza, followed by lives of Zuingle, Luther, and Œcolampadius. These biographies are said to be replete with falsehoods as well as invectives, and supplied the less scrupulous polemics of popery with means of attacking these reformers.—*Mosheim. Moreri. Beza's Life of Calvin.*

BONA, JOHN, was descended from an ancient and noble family, and born at Mondovi, a town in Piedmont, upon the 10th of October, 1609. He was devoted to solitude, and had a contempt of the world from his infancy. At fifteen years of age he retired to a monastery near Pignerol, and becoming a Cistercian monk in the year 1651, he was made general of his order. Cardinal Fabio Chigi, who was Bona's great friend, and in the year 1655 chosen pope under the name of Alexander VII, wished him to retain this office, and used some means to prevail with him: but Bona pressed so earnestly to be discharged, that the pope at length suffered him to resign it. He did it however upon this condition, that Bona should not depart from Rome; and in order to reconcile him to it, gave him several employments. Clement IX continued him in these places, conferred upon him new ones, and made

him cardinal in November, 1669. This pontiff dying soon after, many people wished that Bona might succeed him in the holy see. He died at Rome on the 27th of Oct. 1674.

His work *De Divina Psalmodia, ejusque Causis, Mysteriis et Disciplina; deque variis Ritibus omnium Ecclesiarum in psallendis divinis Officiis*, was published in 1663. This work established his character as a man of learning and research, and was a good introduction to that on which his fame mainly rests, and upon which he expended the labour of seven years, his *Rerum Liturgicarum Lib. ii.* This was published at Rome in 1671, and reprinted the next year at Paris. Bona's works were published by Sala at Turin in 1747, in four volumes, folio; and this is considered the best edition of his works.—*Moreri. Fabroni vitæ Italarum.*

BONAVENTURE, whose original name was Fidenza, was christened by the name of John. He was born at Bagnarea, in Tuscany, in the year 1221. In the fourth year of his age he was so ill that his life was despaired of, and his mother in her distress implored Francis of Assisi to pray for him. He did so; and his prayers were heard. When Francis was approaching the end of life he adverted to this circumstance, and seeing indications of talent and goodness in the boy, he exclaimed with reference to his restoration to health, *O buonaventura! what good luck!* The name Bonaventure henceforth adhered to John Fidenza, who became a friar of the Franciscan order in 1243. He then went to Paris to complete his studies, and studied under our countryman Alexander Hales, styled among the schoolmen the Irrefragable Doctor. Bonaventure became equally distinguished for his learning and his devotional asceticism: pointing once to a crucifix he said, "This is the source of my knowledge—I study only Jesus Christ and Him crucified." Well would it have been for Bonaventure's own soul and for Christendom, had this poor sinful man always adhered to this doctrine, but great as his virtues were, his fame is ob-

scured by the fact, that few individuals in that dark age did more to betray Christians into the sin of Mariolatry, than Bonaventure. Papists would appeal to his virtues as a justification of this their idolatry: we are not to judge another; but if such an appeal is to be made, the fact of his idolatry must make us think that the history of his virtues is apocryphal. We know that in popish writings—(see Alban Butler)—the record of the virtues of Bonaventure is mixed up with legendary falsehoods. But there is no occasion to do this: he was misled by the tradition of his age, and even as we can duly appreciate the virtues of an ultra-protestant in the present age, notwithstanding the manifold sins and often unchristian spirit of his party, so we can reverence the virtues of a schoolman of the 13th century, although we are compelled as catholics and Christians to condemn his opinions. Bonaventure could have been no saint, but he was a sinner doing his best according to the light afforded him. And this he has in his favour, that by two extremes he is praised. Bellarmine has pronounced Bonaventure to be a man dear to God and men; while Luther calls him *vir præstantissimus*, a most excellent man.

After his ordination Bonaventure taught in his convent privately until he succeeded his master, John Bochelle, in the public chair of the university. He bestowed on the establishment that book of the school divines, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and won for himself the title of the *Seraphic Doctor*, styled Eustachius, or Eutychius, by the Greeks. Together with his friend, Thomas Aquinas, he took his doctor's degree in 1255: and in the year following was, to his astonishment, chosen general of the Franciscans, on the forced resignation of John of Parma. By the extreme violence of John of Parma, supported by a powerful party, the Franciscan order had been divided by intestine dissensions, but peace was restored by the wisdom and sound discretion of the young general, who, at the time of his appointment, was only thirty-five years old. He had set out for Rome immediately on his appointment, and

visited several of his convents on his way back to Paris, shewing every where that he was only become superior, to be the most humble, the most charitable, and the most compassionate of all his brethren, and the servant of the whole order.

It is said that Clement IV, pope of Rome, tried to force Bonaventure on the church of England, and by force or fraud obtained for him the archbishopric of York. But, as Godwin de præsulibus shews, it is very improbable that such an offer was made; and however subservient the church of England might at that time have been to the papal court, it was not probable that the English government would have tolerated the appointment of an Italian friar, to a dignity of such importance. He was nominated to an office, for which he was much better qualified, by Gregory X, by whom he was created cardinal, and appointed to the bishopric of Albano. Gregory X was indeed indebted for his election to the tiara to Bonaventure, who, it is supposed, might have secured the popedom for himself, at the death of Clement IV, if he had been so disposed.

Bonaventure was desired by the pope to attend the council of Lyons:—one of those councils in which the popes of Rome have attempted to effect a re-union with the Greek church, not by a reformation of abuses and doctrine, but by artifice and manœuvre. Bonaventure was not, of course, cognizant of any thing but the fact, that between certain prelates of the two churches, there was to be a conference, and that a council was instituted, by what he considered the competent authority. He charmed the Greek deputies by his eloquence, and found no difficulty in persuading them by his arguments, since they who attended the council had come predetermined to be convinced. During the session of the council, Bonaventure died. He expired with great calmness on the 15th of June, in the year of our Lord 1274.

His works abound with much that is calculated to elevate the feelings and to enlighten the mind, though

sadly tinctured with his superstitious veneration for the Virgin. When he was made general of the Franciscans, he placed his order under her patronage, and regulated many exercises of devotion to her; but Butler informs us on apparently good authority, that the psalter of the Virgin is ascribed to him falsely, and is unworthy to bear his name. The vatican edition of his works was begun by an order of Sixtus V, and completed in 1588. It consists of eight volumes, folio. The two first contain his commentaries on the Holy Scriptures: the third his sermons and panegyrics; the fourth and fifth his comments on the master of the sentences; the sixth, seventh, and eighth, his lesser treatises, of which some are doctrinal, others regard the duties of a religious state, others general subjects of piety. Most of these have been published in separate editions. His works have been reprinted at Mentz and Lyons, and in fourteen vols, 4to, at Venice, in 1751.—*Dupin. Cave. Mosheim. Butler. Godwin.*

BONIFACE. This ornament of the church of England, whose original name was Winfrid, was born at Crediton, near Kirton, in Devonshire, about the year 680. He received his early education in the monastery at Exeter, from whence he was removed to a monastery in the diocese of Winchester, where better opportunities were provided for the cultivation of his mind. By Winbert, the abbot of that monastery, he was afterwards employed in teaching others, and was persuaded when he was about thirty years old to receive the order of priesthood. His zeal as a clergyman for the salvation of souls soon began to display itself; and his reputation stood so high, that when the bishops of the kingdom of the West Saxons were obliged to hold a synod before the arrival of their metropolitan, they fixed upon Winfrid to act as their deputy, and to explain the affair to Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury. But in the midst of the esteem and success with which he laboured at home, he conceived a strong desire to be a partaker of the missionary labours of

the aged Wilbrord, whom he joined at Utrecht, in the year 716. Here he found the difficulties in his way so great, that he returned for a short time to England, where he paid the last tribute of respect to the memory of his master and patron, Winbert. He was offered the abbacy vacant by Winbert's death, but he seems never to have renounced his calling of missionary to the unconverted Germans, and probably had only returned to England to devise a plan for carrying his intentions more fully into effect. The attention of men requiring assistance was at that time naturally directed to Rome, the present monstrous pretensions of the bishop of that see not being then established, though many good and earnest men, such as Boniface, grateful for assistance kindly offered, were at this time unconsciously building up the papal system. From Daniel, bishop of Winchester, he obtained commendatory letters in 718, and he arrived in Rome in 719, where he was kindly received. He then went for a season into Lombardy, but repairing again to Rome, in 723 he was consecrated by pope Gregory II as missionary bishop to the Germans eastward of the Rhine. It seems probable that the pope then gave him the Italian name of Boniface, as if to remind him of his obligations to the Roman see, and to bind him to her service. It seems indeed to have been the custom of that church to give new names at consecration; at least, the Italian missionaries in England were accustomed to give a new name to the Saxons they ordained as bishops. By some persons it is said that he had assumed the name of Boniface before, in conjunction with that of Winfrid, and that Gregory II confirmed it at his consecration. A more devoted servant the Roman bishop never had: an oath was administered to him at consecration, by which he bound himself to preserve the unity of the Church, and he was taught that unity of the Church was identical with subserviency to the see of Rome. He ever shewed himself too ready to raise its pretensions by the depression of the episcopal

order. But this was rather the fault of the age than of the man : the spirit of the age was romanizing, and not being a very learned person, by the spirit of the age he was naturally much influenced. He took for granted the validity of pretensions now known to be unfounded, and the support he so readily received in all quarters may be attributed to the fact, that in acting as he did he went with the stream.

No sooner had he entered as a missionary bishop on his field of labour than he was joined by missionaries from England, and numbers of people from the provinces of the Upper Rhine were converted and baptized.

In 738 the see of Mentz was, with the consent of the Frankish government, made metropolitan, and Boniface became the archbishop. While archbishop of Mentz his opinion was asked whether it were lawful to make use of wooden chalices in the celebration of the Eucharist ; he calmly replied, " that formerly the Church was happy in Golden Priests, who offered the sacrifice of the altar in wooden chalices ; but in his time things were unhappily much altered, and wooden priests made use of golden chalices."

While Boniface was fully employed in the business of his ministry, Pepin was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age, and many infirmities lay so heavy on him that, with consent of the new king, the bishops, abbots, clergy, and gentry of his diocese, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz. When he had thus eased himself of the charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new bishop in very strong terms, desiring that he would finish the church at Fuld and see him buried in it, for his end was near. Having left these orders, Boniface took boat on the Rhine, and

went to Friseland, where he converted and baptized several thousands of the barbarous natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on their ruins. Having admitted so large a number to the sacred font, he appointed a day for confirming the new Christians, and proposed performing that ceremony in the open field in consideration of their vast number. While he lay in a tent near the river Bourde, where he designed to administer that sacrament, the pagans got intelligence of it, and upon the day appointed for the solemnity poured down on him and the companions of his mission in a manner that sufficiently spoke their design of massacring them. Boniface's servants were for repelling the barbarians by force of arms; but the saint opposed the motion, told them and his clergy, that the moment he had long wished for was now come, and exhorted his assistants in the ministry to prepare themselves for martyrdom. While he was thus employed the pagans rushed in upon him, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants. Their martyrdom took place on the 5th of June, 755.

His epistles were published by Ferarius at Mentz, in 1605, and were reprinted in 1629. They do not leave a favourable impression as to the piety of the mediæval church. His third letter is superscribed to bishop Daniel. In it he complains of the behaviour of certain clergymen, who taught errors, and permitted persons guilty of murder and adultery to be admitted into the priesthood. And that which troubled him most, was this; that he could not wholly separate from them, because they were in great reputation in Pepin's court, of whom he stood in need: but he says, that he did avoid all communion with them in the holy mysteries. He observes, that the opposition which he met with from heathens and infidels was the more tolerable, because it was without; but when a priest, deacon, or clergyman, departs from the faith, this causes a disorder in the inward parts of the Church. He asks advice of this bishop, how he should carry himself; he says, that on the one hand he is obliged to hold a fair

correspondence with the French king's court, because he cannot, without his authority and command, defend the German churches, and subdue the idolatry of those provinces : that going to desire orders for that end, he cannot but communicate with those disorderly clergymen ; yet he is afraid that he offends God by it, having promised by an oath to pope Gregory to avoid those persons : but on the other side, he is afraid of bringing a greater damage upon the Church if he should forbear going to the French king's court. He adds, that he seems to satisfy his oath by separating from those irregular clergymen in their ministry, and not agreeing with them in their errors, or sinful conversation. We have Daniel's answer to this letter, wherein he approves of Boniface's carriage.

Collier, in his history of the 8th century, gives a lengthened extract from his 105th letter, addressed to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury. It was written at the close of the council of Augsburg at which Boniface presided, and it was, with his usual zeal for the papacy, designed to bring our Church under the dominion of the see of Rome. Imparting to the archbishop the canons of that council, he tells him, that they made a confession of the faith of the Church, owned an union, and subjection to the Roman Church, would yield obedience to St Peter and his vicar, and that they have ordained, that synods should be called every year ; that they should require the palls for metropolitans of the holy see ; that they would follow the commands of St Peter ; that metropolitans, who have received the pall, should observe the behaviour of the bishops ; that bishops should neither keep hunting dogs nor hawks ; that the priests should visit all their charge in Lent, and give the bishop an account of their conversation ; that bishops should visit their diocese every year ; that clergymen should not wear laymen's habits, nor bear arms ; that metropolitans should judge their suffragan bishops in their synod ; and the bishops shall bring to this synod all persons whom they cannot reform, who shall be subject to their metropolitans, and they to the bishop of Rome. The

remaining part of it is an exhortation to metropolitans to discharge the functions of their ministry with vigilance, and die rather than do any thing contrary to the sacred laws of the Church. About the end he tells Cuthbert that it were convenient to restrain the women and virgins of England from going in such numbers to Rome, because the greatest part of them were debauched, and caused great scandal in the whole Church; for there is scarce a city, saith he, in Lombardy or France, where there are not some English women of a wicked life.—*Cave. Dupin. Mabillon. Fleury.*

BONIFACE, archbishop of Canterbury, was son of a count of Savoy, and uncle to Eleanor of Provence, Henry the third's queen. He was "besides the nobleness of his birth a very graceful person and a fine gentleman," but in every respect unfit to be an archbishop. Nevertheless, when in 1244 the see of Canterbury was vacant, he was elected as the successor of Edmund, commonly called St Edmund, by the monks of Canterbury acting under the influence of the king.

The king in order to have his election confirmed at Rome, had an instrument drawn up, and addressed to the pope, in commendation of his uncle Boniface: he prevailed with the bishops and abbots to put their seals to it, though many of them are said to have been frightened into this compliance. However, several of the prelates were men of resolution, and chose rather to stand the king's displeasure than sign the panegyric: and some of the monks of Canterbury were so dissatisfied with their own votes, that they quitted their convent, and bound themselves to a perpetual penance in the Carthusian order. But though Boniface was chosen this year, he was not confirmed by the pope till two years after, nor consecrated till the year 1245.

While the question of his consecration was pending, the English people, indignant at the usurpations of the

Roman see, drew up a spirited remonstrance. Certainly this remonstrance exhibits no favourable account of the medi-æval church, while it shews sufficiently the curse of papal domination. They set forth in their complaint that these papal exactions were direct contradictions to primitive practice:—that none of these demands were made in the time of St Augustine, the English apostle:—that when king Ethelbert endowed the churches of London, Canterbury, and Rochester, the revenues were designed for the clergy and monks of those places to be spent at home, for the honour of religion, for the relief of the poor, and the benefit of the country:—that other cathedrals and churches were endowed upon the same views, as appears by the founder's charters: that this munificence of princes was always conveyed with reservations of service in three cases; that is, that the Church was bound to contribute her proportion in pontage, murage, and the expenses of war. Now, which way can these designs be answered? How can these services be performed if the churches are thus polled by the court of Rome, and the revenues drawn off into foreign countries? And what is all this assistance for? Why, it is to enable his holiness to fight the emperor, that is, to put him into a condition for ravage and blood-shed; for burning of towns and making a desolation in Christendom: and yet, when the disciples asked our Saviour's permission to fight in his defence, saying, Lord! shall we smite with the sword? Our Saviour bid them put up their swords, and refused their service this way. They urged, that the emperor was nearly allied to the house of England: that the king's sister was married to that prince at the request of the Church, and that he had issue by her: and therefore, to contribute against the emperor, was, in effect to impoverish themselves, to confound the best blood in the kingdom, and destroy the royal family. Besides, such contributions would in all likelihood make the emperor break with the king, and not assist him in his recovery of his dominions.

This complaint coming to the king's ear, he wrote to the pope upon that subject: and in the close of the letter, desired his holiness not to take it ill, if he contradicted his instructions in some cases. For he was bound by his royal office to do justice to all people, and redress the grievances of his subjects.

These remonstrances, says Collier, it is probable, were not very acceptable at the court of Rome, as appears by the schemes laid against the crown. For now the pope, whether out of interest or revenge is not certain, endeavoured to draw David prince of Wales from his late engagements to king Henry. The pope's design was, as the historian reports it, to make himself sovereign of the principality of Wales. David therefore, having promised to own his holiness under that title, and pay him the yearly acknowledgment of five hundred marks, was received into the pope's protection, and supported in his rebellion against king Henry.

In 1244 he found Martin, the pope's nuncio, "another harpy," as he is called, extorting money from the clergy, and suspending the bishops of the church of England, for refusing to prefer the pope's relations. He brought over with him a parcel of blank bulls, which he might fill at discretion. He applied to the king for countenance in his exactions, but the king told him that the church was in no condition to contribute to the pope's wants, and sent him away dissatisfied. In the succeeding year, the barons, resolving to free themselves from the tyranny of the court of Rome, sent orders to the wardens of the ports to prevent any persons from bringing any bulls or mandates from the pope. In consequence of this, a messenger from the pope was seized with certain bulls upon him; and when the king ordered him to be released, they laid before him the value of the income enjoyed by Italian ecclesiastics in England, amounting to 60,000 marks a year. Martin, the pope's legate, was dismissed in the course of the year by the barons, who also sent a letter to the council assembled at Lyons, in which they state the pope's oppressions.

The pope pretended to give them satisfaction, but obliged the pusillanimous bishops of the church of England, who truckled to the court of Rome, to confirm with their seals the charter of tribute which had been granted by king John.

Boniface was at last consecrated by the pope at Lyons. As he was better qualified for a general than a bishop, the pope, who had laid hands on him, made him captain of his guards, and gave him authority to keep the peace, and secure the council from disturbance.

Again in 1246 the king, the bishops, the abbots, the barons, and the commonalty of England remonstrated with the pope, in letters from the different orders, on his exactions. The pope conducted himself with a degree of haughtiness which would have disgraced the meanest Christian, and a rupture between the church of England and the see of Rome, which might have antedated the reformation, would undoubtedly have taken place, had it not been for the mean compliance of the king, who at first took his stand against the pope with his nobles, clergy, and people. The king gave way, and the church and state of England became a prey to Roman avarice.

In spiritual things, as well as temporal, the pope shewed his disregard of all justice and religion : he issued a bull by which pluralities were allowed to the sons of noblemen, and non-residence permitted to the court clergy. These things should be noted by the laudators of the middle ages, when they would institute a comparison between our church as it exists now, and our church as it existed then.

When Boniface first entered upon his see, we are informed by bishop Godwin that he found it in debt to the amount of twenty-two thousand marks, by the “overlashing of his predecessors,” which he took for an excuse for absenting himself from his charge, and also for raking money together by all kind of means. Departing therefore into his own country, by felling of woods, making leases and other similar means, he made much money, promising to

employ the same and whatever he could save by living privately at home, in the payment of the debt upon his church. Under the same pretence also he induced the pope to grant him in commendam the bishopric of Valentia in Provence, and several other spiritual promotions. But his delight was war, and he spent all he could make in hiring soldiers. When therefore (notwithstanding all these helps) the debt was none the less, he was glad by bribing the pope with a large sum of money, to procure from him a grant of the profit of all spiritual preferments that should be void within his province for the space of seven years. The king for some time was indignant at this grant, but in the end partly from fear of the pope (of whom he stood in great awe), and partly by suit and intercession, he ratified and allowed of the same. Having thus been many years absent, Boniface returned into England in 1250, and undertook a visitation of his province in an extraordinary manner. All men knew that it was rather to make money, than from any desire of reformation, that the visitation was undertaken, and this caused it to be opposed. He began first with his own diocese, which he hampered with strict and unreasonable orders, such as he knew men would rather "buy out" than observe; so that every one said the monks of Canterbury were now justly rewarded for their folly in electing an unlearned stranger, who was more fit to make a soldier than an archbishop. Going afterwards to London, he took occasion to defame the bishop. And being resisted by the dean and chapter of St Paul's, (who had appealed from his visitation to the pope) he excommunicated them. Going the next day about the same business to the priory of St Bartholomew's in Smithfield, he was met very honourably by the subprior and all the convent in their copes. But on his telling them that he came to visit them, one of the convent answered him reverently, that they were sorry he came for that purpose, for there they must disappoint him: they knew their bishop (whose only office it was) to be a very sufficient man for his

place, and so long they must not entertain the visitation of any other. This answer so enraged the archbishop that, not being able to contain his anger within any bounds of discretion, he ran violently up, not against the person who had spoken, but against the subprior, who was standing next him, struck the poor old man down to the ground, kicked him, tore his cope from his back, rent it to pieces, and when he had done stamped upon it like a madman. His attendants taking example of their lord, treated the rest of the monks as he had treated the subprior. By this time the Londoners were up, and siding with their bishop, whom this injury originally concerned, lay in wait for the archbishop, so that with difficulty he stole secretly to the Thames side, and was conveyed by a wherry provided for him to Lambeth. If they had met with him, they would have destroyed him. He was no sooner come home, but he issued his excommunications against not only the whole convent of St Bartholomew, but against the bishop of London also, as their patron. They all agreeing together, determined to send the dean of St Paul's to Rome, whom they knew the pope would credit, to advertise him of this strange disorder. The archbishop being informed of this, followed thither without loss of time, and entered Rome with great pomp, nothing doubting but that the royal letters which he had brought, his nobility and great lineage, or if all failed, his purse, would bear him out in this matter. But understanding how odious he was to all who heard of his conduct, and that the pope was informed against him, he entered into a treaty with his adversaries, the dean of St Paul's and the others, whom partly by promises, and partly by threats, he persuaded to forego their complaint.

That matter being so ended, he dealt earnestly with the pope to ratify the doings of his visitation. The bishops of his province understanding this, and knowing how great an inconvenience it would be to them and all their clergy, made a collection of twopence in the mark, out of all spiritual promotions in the province, to be expended in

suit of law against the archbishop. In the mean time the king had written his letters earnestly to the pope in the archbishop's behalf, which so pacified him that the bishop of London utterly despairing of any justice, gave over the matter. Only thus much was obtained, that he, the chapter of St Paul's, and the convent of St Bartholomew's should be absolved from their excommunication.

Soon after this, the archbishop, taking advantage of a trifling occasion, excommunicated again the dean and chapter of St Paul's, which so exasperated all the clergy, that they met at Dunstable, and there laying their purses together, collected the sum of four thousand marks, with which they determined to bribe the pope, if he would deliver them from the misery of this unreasonable kind of visitation. The pope took their money, and promised them fair: and the archbishop seeing no remedy, except by taking the same course, bribed him also. The pope, whose affection was ever wont to be measured according to his rewards, so divided his favour, that he took not away from the archbishop all authority of visiting, and yet so moderated the same with circumstances, as to render such visitations tolerable. As soon as Boniface returned, he proceeded in his visitation, in which he conducted himself at the first somewhat mildly, but soon falling into his old ways, he caused every where such tumults, that this was long after called by the name of the troublous visitation. At Lincoln he quarrelled with the chapter (the see being then vacant) about the gift of prebends and benefices which he challenged, although the patronage had ever heretofore in the vacancy belonged unto them. William Lupus, archdeacon of Lincoln, especially resisted him in this matter, and appealed to the pope. This poor man he so annoyed by the archbishop's excommunications, and every kind of molestation he could devise, that at last he forced him to conceal himself and to steal secretly to Rome, where he was so pitied that the pope was entreated not only to absolve him, but to protect him from the violence of Boniface, and at last to

decide the controversy on his side. The archdeacon commenced his homeward journey with assured hope of restoring his church to her ancient privilege. But being worn out with continual travel and vexation which he had endured three years, he died on the journey. While Boniface was visiting the rest of his province, his monks of Christ church in Canterbury had procured from the pope a charter of immunity from all visitation. This being tendered unto him at St Alban's, he at once threw it into the fire. The matter being complained of both to the pope and the king, no redress could be found. The king dared not disgrace him, for fear of offending his queen, to whom he was uncle; and the pope, partly on account of his kindred, (who were powerful men and his near neighbours) partly because he was his instrument for polling England, and brought him in much money, would hardly listen to any accusation against him. This boisterous visitation ended, he went beyond sea, and with the money he had scraped together, hired a great number of soldiers to rescue his brother Thomas, some time earl of Savoy, who was kept in prison by the citizens of Taurinum, who could not endure his tyranny. In this war he had the pope's bulls and excommunications at his command to assist him, of which, having spent a great many, all his money, and no small number of his soldiers to no purpose, with shame and sorrow for his loss and disgrace, he returned home. Toward the end of his time he became more moderate, and applied himself in some degree to the government of his church. The nation being filled with strangers of the king's blood by his mother's side, and their attendants, who appropriated to themselves all places of preferment, especially ecclesiastical: he was content to unite with other bishops in a request to the king, in which he besought him to have some regard to his own countrymen, among whom he might find choice enough of wise, virtuous, and learned men.

The king replied, that his misconduct in these affairs troubled his mind, and begged the bishops to assist him

in the work of reformation. "You remember," says the king, "that I preferred this Boniface to the highest station in the church, and advanced him to the see of Canterbury. And you, William of Salisbury, who were but a cursiter, cannot forget from what a slender employment you were thus promoted. And you, Silvester, of Carlisle, were but an under clerk in the chancery, and perfectly raised by your prince's favour, who overlooked a great many divines of merit, to make you a great man. And as for you brother Ethelmar, it is well known what pains I took to browbeat and bribe the monks, to bring you to the noble see of Winchester: when indeed, considering your defects in age, and learning, I should rather have provided you a good preceptor. Now, my lords, it concerns you no less than myself, to shew your repentance for your want of qualifications, and resign those promotions you have thus unjustly gained. Such an instance of integrity will never be lost upon me. Such a significant reprimand of my former partiality will put me upon my guard for the future, and prevent me from preferring any person to a bishopric without due merit."

The bishops finding themselves somewhat embarrassed, and that there was more under the king's jest than they could well answer, told him, they did not move for any retrospections, but only for security for the future. At last, after a long debate, the lords spiritual granted the king a tenth part of the revenues of the Church for three years: the first payment of which was to commence, when the king, by the advice of his barons, set forward in his expedition to the holy land. And then the bishops proceeded to a solemn excommunication of those, who broke any part of the great charters: and the king repeated his oath to keep every article without any collusion, or indirect practice whatsoever.

It is lamentable to read of such gross corruptions in our venerable establishment, but as we read of them we cease to wonder at the increasing desire of a reformation, and

the admirers of popery may draw from these facts the profitable inference that our church was never more corrupt than at a time when the pope usurped over it the greatest authority.

In the articles of a provincial visitation we find some questions put, which throw light on the condition of the English church. Enquiry is made, whether any of the clergy misbehave themselves with women. Whether any beneficed persons are married; whether any of the clerical order appear in military figure, and not in a habit suitable to their character; whether any rector or vicar is the son of the last incumbent; and lastly whether markets are kept on Sundays. There are a variety of other questions relating to morals, and they are similar to the queries still issued by bishops at their visitations.

In July, 1255, the king issued his writs to the suffragans of the province of Canterbury to prohibit their meeting in convocation, on the ground that no convocation or council ought to be held when the king was in the field, because the prelates as well as others were bound to repair to the royal standard for the defence of the king and kingdom. In this year the pope and conclave from interested motives established a new imposition, and made an order that every exempt abbot should take a journey to Rome upon his election, to complete his character and receive the pope's benediction. Matthew Paris complains of this innovation, as very prejudicial to the ends of the monastic institution; that it would occasion frequent disputes about the validity of elections: that the discipline of the convent would suffer by the absence of their elect; and that the king, having the custody of the abbeys in the vacancy, the officers of the crown would have a longer opportunity to prey upon the revenues. This decree of the court of Rome was soon after enlarged to a farther encroachment upon the Church. For now every elect, exempt or not exempt, was obliged to cross the Alps, and empty his coffers into the Roman exchequer. This order not only

affected the abbots, but extended to all the bishops' sees where the chapter consisted of monastics.

On the Thursday after the feast of St Barnabas, Boniface summoned his suffragans to meet him in a synod at Merton, in Surrey, where several constitutions were made for the reformation of discipline; they are said to be the boldest constitutions ever made in a convocation of our church. In the year 1261 a provincial council was again held at Lambeth with the same object in view, namely, the protection of the Church from the aggressions of the state. But the most remarkable synod during the primacy of Boniface was the national synod held in London in 1268 under cardinal Othobon, the pope's legate, at which the Welsh as well as the English bishops attended. The canons of this council were of great authority, and are regarded as a rule of discipline to the church of England, except of course where they have been superseded by subsequent enactments. Several of them are still in force and make part of our common law. In the third constitution it is said that "the church of God not differing as to its materials from private houses, by the invisible mystery of dedication is made the temple of the Lord to implore the expiation of sins and the divine mercy; that there may be in it a table at which the living bread is eaten by way of intercession for the quick and the dead." The notion here expressed is strange and unusual. *Ipso facto* excommunication sprung up in this age. That which distinguishes this excommunication from others is, that it is incurred from the minute that the penal act is committed, whereas other excommunications have no effect till denounced. If indeed the fact by which a man excommunicates himself is not known by any but himself, it cannot expose him to the external consequences of a Church censure, till by his own confession, or some other means it comes to light, and till the sentence has been published against him; yet even in this case he is supposed to be excommunicated in *foro interno*, from the time of his committing the offence.

Boniface, conscious of his unfitness for his high office, had in his later years retired to Savoy, and there at the castle of St Helen's he died on the 18th of July, 1270. After describing his faults it is pleasant to be able to record that he paid the debt of twenty-two thousand marks in which he found his see involved. He built and endowed a hospital at Maidstone; and he completed the stately hall at Canterbury, which had been begun by Herbert.—*Matt. Paris. Godwin. Collier. Johnson's Eccles. Laws. Rapin.*

BONNER, or BONER, EDMUND. This ecclesiastical Nero, the disgrace of the church of England in the 16th century, was born at Hanley, in Worcestershire. About the year 1512 he entered at Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, in Oxford. He probably made choice of this college as it was resorted to by those who were training as civilians and canonists. In 1519 he became B.C.L. He never became a scholar, but was distinguished early in life as a man well skilled in the affairs of the world. Soon after taking his degree he was admitted into holy orders, and was employed in the management of his affairs by the bishop of Worcester. We find him, soon after, in the employment of cardinal Wolsey, and he found in him, as all his servants did, a liberal patron: though the patronage extended to his friends was often injurious to the Church; for instance, Bonner held the livings of Blaydon and Cherry Burton in Yorkshire, of Ripple in Worcestershire, and of East Dereham in Norfolk, together with the prebend of Chiswick in St Paul's church. In 1525 he took his doctor's degree. In 1535 he was archdeacon of Leicester. Although he resigned his stall at St Paul's in 1539, and his living of East Dereham in 1540, this accumulation of preferment on one person shews how much the church needed reform, although a complete reformation on this point was not carried into effect till our own times. The piety of the present archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Howley, has put a

stop effectually to pluralities. The evil was the greater in Bonner's case, as he was incessantly employed in state affairs.

On the death of cardinal Wolsey, Bonner found another patron in Henry VIII, who appointed him one of his chaplains. It is very clear that a young man who commenced life with only ordinary advantages and yet obtained employment early in life under such a minister as cardinal Wolsey, though he may have lacked principle, must have been a man of talent as well as a man of business. He became useful to Henry. The reforming party was at this time gaining ground, and it became the policy of the court to countenance the reformers, who on their part too easily yielded to political feeling, and aided the profligate tyrant in his cruel designs against his faithful and pious wife, Catherine of Arragon. Bonner went with the stream. Bonner was a reformer, and was equally zealous in promoting the royal divorce, in abrogating the pope's supremacy, and in circulating the Scriptures in the English language. In every thing he seems to have devoted himself to the service of that unscrupulous minister, Thomas Cromwell, now at the head of the reforming party. But before this, he had been employed in some high posts where he displayed more intrepidity than tact. He accompanied sir Edward Carne to Rome in 1532. Sir Edward was sent as *excusator* to apologize for the king's not appearing either in person or by proxy to the citation of the papal court. As the pope and cardinals were to be intimidated, Bonner was considered a fit person to undertake the mission, being skilled in the canon law, and not restrained by any delicacy of feeling from stating what would be offensive. His conduct on this occasion gave such satisfaction at home, that in the autumn of 1533 he was again despatched to the pope, Clement VII, at that time at Marseilles. Henry had before this married Ann Boleyn, and it had been declared at Rome that all things done in England with

reference to the divorce from Catherine were null and void, and that the king, moreover, was liable to excommunication unless he restored things to the position in which they were before the divorce had been pronounced. He was given till September, when the pope threatened to proceed to excommunication. Thus Bonner appeared in the papal court, the antagonist of papal usurpation. At this time he, probably, as one of our reformers, desired nothing more than a breach with Rome. The immediate purpose of Bonner's mission was to deliver to the pope an authentic instrument of the king's appeal from him to the next general council lawfully called. Nothing could be more proper than this course, except that of renouncing all authority on the part of the pope to interfere. But Clement was violently enraged. He promised, however, to consider the subject in consistory, and the angry pope, having consulted his cardinals, gave answer that the appeal was unlawful, and as for a general council he declared, in ignorance, that the convocation of it belonged to him, and not to the king. Dr Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, having been threatened with a process from Rome, put in an appeal at the same time to the next general council. Bonner was not to be intimidated; he gave way to his coarse impetuosity, and delivered the threats which he was directed to make with such vehemence of manner, and with so much fury of temper, that the astonished and enraged pontiff talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive. If Bonner overstepped the bounds of decency, nothing could justify a Christian bishop in exhibiting a temper so anti-christian; and that the papal threats were not likely to terminate in words was so strongly the conviction upon Bonner's mind, that he soon made his escape from Rome. If Bonner had at this time suffered death, he would have found a place in Fox's Martyrology, and he would have come down to posterity as a reformer and a martyr, instead of a popish persecutor.

That Bonner, who received great provocations at Rome, did not exceed the powers given him in his commission when threatening the pope, is apparent from the fact that by the government at home he was subsequently employed in embassies to the kings of Denmark and France, and to the emperor of Germany.

His employments abroad did not prevent his aiding the cause of reformation at home. Stephen Gardiner's famous book, *De Vera Differentia regię Potestatis et Ecclesiasticę*, was published in 1534 by the advice and consent of convocation, which assured the king that the authority and government in all matters and causes ecclesiastical belonged to his estate, both by the word of God and the ancient laws of the Church. It was reprinted in 1536, and a stringent preface was prefixed to it by Bonner, who had become archdeacon of Leicester the preceding year. He therein accused the bishop of Rome of many grievous and horrible crimes, alluding to the then pope: he said, "he had made many laws to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, under the title of *catholic Church* and the authorities of the apostles Peter and Paul. When notwithstanding he is a ravening wolf, drest in sheep's clothing, calling himself *servant of servants*, to the damage of the Christian commonwealth."

In 1537 Bonner was a member of the commission which drew up the treatise entitled the *Institution of a Christian Man*, a work put forth by the reformers. And in 1538, when he was ambassador at the court of France, he zealously promoted the printing of the English Bible. Of this we will give an account in the words of Fox.

"It happened in 1540, that Thomas lord Cromwell and earl of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the university of Paris, because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready despatch of the same. And in like manner

at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassador, Edmund Bonner, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits. The which bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons, to be in manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper, and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the imprinters house where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed. And further, the said Bonner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced the meantime, while the said Bible was in printing, that king Henry the VIIIth preferred the said Bonner from the said bishopric of Hereford, to be bishop of London, at which time, the said Bonner according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom the said Bonner said when he took his oath, "Master Grafton, so it is, that the king's most excellent majesty hath by his gracious gift presented me to the bishopric of London, for the which I am sorry, for if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old bishopric of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London: for they yet know you not, yet they have heard so much goodness of you from hence, as no doubt they will heartily rejoice of your placing." Then said Bonner, "I pray God I may do that may content them; and to tell you Mr Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath) the

greatest fault that I ever found in Stokesley, was for vexing and troubling of poor men, as Lobley the bookbinder and other, for having the Scripture in English, and God willing he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it : and I will have of your Bibles set up in the church of Paul's, at the least in sundry places six of them; and I will pay you honestly for them and give you hearty thanks." Which words he then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile, grocer, and other. "But now Mr Grafton at this time I have specially called you to be a witness with me that upon this translation of bishops' sees, I must according to the statute take an oath unto the king's majesty acknowledging his supremacy, which before God I take with my heart, and so think him to be, and beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his grace: hold the book sir, and read you the oath" (said he) to one of his chaplains, and he laid his hand on the book and took his oath. And after this he shewed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

"Now after that the foresaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well content to permit the doing thereof. And so the printer went forward and printed forth the book even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked to the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresy. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were two thousand five hundred, called the Bibles of the great volume, and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant criminal having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of

Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert Place, was somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold four great drie fats off them to a haberdasher to wrap caps in, and those were bought again, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss, after they had recovered some part of the foresaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the foresaid printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themselves, (which before they never intended) and printed out the said Bible in London, and after that printed sundry impressions of them : but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely, Stephen Gardiner, and his fellows, who mightily did stomach and malign the printing thereof.

“ Here by the way, for the more direction of the story, thou hast loving reader, to note and understand that in those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places. The first was called Thomas Matthew's Bible, printed at Hamburgh, about the year of our Lord 1532, the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall hear more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tindall, who with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin which were added after. But because the said William Tindall in the mean time was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tindall, because that name then was odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Matthew, John Rogers the same time being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also cer-

tain notes thereto in the margin, and thereof came it to be called Thomas Matthew's Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Matthew, after it was imprinted and presented to the lord Cromwell, and the lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his subjects with his grace's license: so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters with these words,—Set forth with the king's most gracious license."

While at the court of Francis I, Bonner gave so great offence on one occasion to that king, by the vehemence and want of courtesy with which he applied for the surrender of an English traitor who had fled to France, that his majesty desired him to write three things to the king his master: that his ambassador was a great fool: that he caused better justice to be done in his realm in one month, than they did in England in a whole year: and that if it were not for the love he bore his master he should have an hundred strokes with a halbert. But whatever was thought of him in France, Cromwell was looking after his interests in England. It was through the influence of Cromwell that he was sent on these embassies, and now on the vacancy of the see of Hereford, as stated above, he was nominated as the successor of Edward Fox. But before he was consecrated, Stokesley bishop of London died, and Cromwell, seeing the advantage of having a reformer in that important see, procured the translation of Bonner. He was confirmed on the 11th of November, 1539, and consecrated on the 4th of April, 1540. At this time he took, as bishop of London, an oath of fidelity to the king, which is as follows :

"Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power, within this realm, or any other the king's dominions, but that ye shall resist the

same at all times to the uttermost of your power : and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, &c. So help you God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists."

Signed thus,

† *In fidem præmissorum Ego Edm. Boner
Elect. et Confirmat. Londoniens. huic
præsenti chartæ subscripsi.*

How well he kept this oath is known to every one. The Bible for the printing of which he exerted himself when in Paris was published by authority in 1540, when Bonner caused six copies of it to be placed in St Paul's church. The Bibles were chained to the pillars to prevent over-zealous protestants from stealing them, and they were accompanied by an admonition from bishop Bonner to this effect : " That whosoever came there to read, should prepare himself to be edified and made the better thereby. That he should join thereunto his readiness to obey the king's injunctions made in that behalf. That he bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour. That there should no such number meet together there, as to make a multitude. That no exposition be made thereupon, but what is declared in the book itself. That it be not read with noise in time of divine service ; or that any disputation or contention be used at it."

He owed every thing to Cromwell, but base minds hate their benefactors, fearing lest their promotion may be attributed to the favour of a patron rather than to their own talents ; and when Cromwell fell, Bonner, instead of sympathizing with him in his misfortunes, seemed only to fear lest he should participate in his ruin, and expressed his regret that his benefactor had not been sooner arrested. In the year 1540 we find bishop Bonner sitting upon a commission appointed by the king to discuss certain

questions of religion. It may be interesting to read the answers returned by Bonner to the different questions, as shewing the opinions he held at this time.

The first Question.—What a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

Without prejudice to the truth, and saving always more better judgment, cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte :—

To the first question; I think that the Scriptures do use this word Sacrament, in divers places, according to the matter it treateth upon, Tobit, xii. Rev. i. Wisd. ii. 6. 12. Dan. ii. Ephes. i. 3, 5. Col. i. 1 Tim. 10. Rev. xvii.; as also it doth divers other words: yet, what a Sacrament is by definition, or description of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewise as I cannot find the definition or description of the Trinity, nor yet such-like things. Marry what other men can find, being daily and of long season exercised in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledge:—

2. *Question.*—What a Sacrament is by the ancient authors?

To the second; I find in authors this declaration, Sacramentum est sacræ rei signum. Also, invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma. Also, visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ imaginem gerens et causa existens. And of the verity and goodness of this description or declaration, I refer me to the divines, better acquainted with this matter than I am.

3. *Question.*—How many Sacraments there be by Scripture?

To the third; I find not set forth the express number, with express declaration of thus many and no more; nor yet of these expressly by Scripture which we use, especially under the name of Sacraments, saving only of matrimony.

4. *Question.*—How many Sacraments there be by the ancient authors?

To the fourth; I find that St Austin speaketh de Baptismo, de Eucharistia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione clericorum, de Sacramento Chrismatis et unctionis: also I find in the said St Austin, that in the old law there were many Sacraments, and in the new law, few.

5. *Question.*—Whether this word Sacrament, be and ought to be attributed to the seven only? and whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old authors?

To the fifth, I answer; that this word, Sacrament, in our language commonly hath been attributed to the seven customably called Sacraments; not for that yet, that the word Sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued and taken for things of such sort.

6. *Question.*—Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old authors, and so to be taught?

To the sixth; I think it be a doctrine set forth by the ancient fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they understood it; though Scripture for all that doth not give unto all the seven, the special names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before said) the Sacrament of matrimony.

7. *Question.*—What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven Sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?

To the seventh, I find, that St Austin is of this sentence: that where the Sacraments of the old law did promise grace and comfort, the Sacraments of the new law do give it indeed. And moreover he saith, that that the Sacraments of the new law are, factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora and feliciora, more easier, more fewer, more wholesomer, and more happy.

8. *Question.*—Whether Confirmation, cum chrismate, of them that be baptized, be found in Scripture?

To the eighth; I find in Scripture, in many places, de impositione manuum, which I think (considering the usage commonly and so long withal used) to be confirmation; and that with chrism, to supply the visible appearance of the Holy Ghost, which Holy Ghost was so visibly seen in the primitive church: nevertheless, for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of men of higher knowledge in this faculty.

9. *Question.*—Whether the apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?

To the ninth; I think the Apostles made bishops by the law of God, because, Acts xxii, it is said, In quo vos spiritus sanctus posuit: nevertheless, I think if Christian princes had been then, they should have named by right, and appointed the said bishops to their rooms and places.

10. *Question.*—Whether bishops or priests were first? and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop.

To the tenth; I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the priest then made the bishop, or else the bishop the priest; considering (after the sentence of St Jerome) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference, between a bishop and a priest, especially touching the signification.

11. *Question.*—Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest?

To the eleventh, I think, that a bishop duly appointed, hath authority, by Scripture, to make a bishop, and also a priest: because Christ being a bishop did so make Himself; and because also His apostles did the like.

12. *Question.*—Whether in the New Testament be re-

quired any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

To the twelfth; I think consecration of a bishop and priest be required, for that in the old law (being yet but a shadow and figure of the new) the consecration was required, as appears, Lev. viii, yet the truth of this I leave to those of higher judgments.

13. *Question*.—Whether (if it fortun'd a Christian prince learned, to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him) if it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute priests, or no?

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I think that necessity herein, might either be a sufficient rule and warrant to determine and order such cases, considering that tempore necessitatis mulier baptizat, and laicus idem facit, and audit confessionem: or else that God would inspire in the prince's heart, to provide the best and most handsome remedy therein: and hard were it peradventure to find such great necessity, but either in the train of the said prince, or in the regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had some priests for the said purposes; or, finally, that the prince himself, godlily inspired in that behalf, might, for so good purposes and intents, set forth the act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.

14. *Question*.—Whether it be forefended by God's law, that (if it be so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism, and others unministered) that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?

Ut supra, quæst. 13.

15. *Question*.—Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture, (quorum remisistis) and such like, to

confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no?

To the fifteenth; I think that as the sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open sins, so also he is bound to confess his secret sins, because the special end to wit, *absolutionem a peccato cujus fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases: and that all sins as touching God are open, and in no wise secret or hid.

16. *Question.*—Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's law?

To the sixteenth; I think that a bishop may excommunicate, taking example of St Paul with the Corinthian; and also of that he did to Alexander and Hymeneus. And with the lawyers it hath been a thing out of question, that to excommunicate solemnly, appertaineth to a bishop, although otherwise, both inferior prelates and other officers, yea and priests too in notorious crimes, after divers men's opinions, may excommunicate semblably, as all others that be appointed governors and rulers over any multitude, or spiritual congregation.

17. *Question.* Whether unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient authors?

To the seventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the usage in extreme unction now, be all one with that which was in the beginning of the Church: yet of the unction in time of sickness, and the oil also with prayers and ceremonies, the same is set forth in the epistle of St James, which place commonly is alleged, and so hath been received, to prove the Sacrament of extreme unction.

Ita mihi Edmundo Londinensi episcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, salvo judicio melius sentientis, cui me prompte & humiliter subijcio.

He also bore his part in the shameful proceedings of

this year in convocation, by which the king's marriage with Ann of Cleves was declared null and void.

It is well known that the reformers were out of favour during much of the latter part of Henry's reign, and that the Romanizing interest was in the ascendant; and our reformer, Bonner, gave unequivocal symptoms of his being prepared to leave his first friends, and to adopt the principles in vogue at court. He cared nothing for religion, and acted only as a politician, but he gave early signs of his persecuting temper, for he received a particular commission addressed to himself in 1540, for carrying into full effect what are called the six bloody articles, passed in the parliament of 1539. He was appointed to administer the oath to the other commissioners for the execution of the act, which he did at Guildhall. There the jury were sworn, and the bishop of London charged them to spare none. In almost all the parishes of London some were brought into trouble, amounting to nearly two hundred. Others being brought to the metropolis from other quarters, the prisons of London were full.

The death of Henry VIII found Bonner ambassador at the imperial court, and attached to the conservative and Romanizing party in England, which, with Gardiner at the head, was opposed to the reforming party, and to Cranmer their leader. It was soon apparent that the reformers would obtain power at the young king's court, but how long they would preserve it was doubtful. He knew that Cranmer had but a low opinion of his merits, and that he could never expect favours from him or his adherents, and he therefore determined to stand by the party to which he found himself attached at the time. His conduct during the reign of Edward was cautious, and he certainly received hard measure. Cranmer took out a license, on the king's accession, for the exercise of his spiritual functions. It was an erastian act, but Bonner did the same. The commission granted by the king was only during pleasure, *durante bene placito*. Bishop

Burnet remarks, that this extraordinary mode of proceeding was only for the purpose of meeting the present juncture; the reforming government thought proper to retain in their hands the power of suspending a bishop, who might refuse to accede to their regulations. If bishops, like Cranmer and Bonner, condescended to receive a license at all, they could of course have no right to complain that the license was limited to the royal pleasure. Bishop Burnet, however, observes that by the letters patent it is clear that the episcopal function was acknowledged to be of divine appointment, and that the person was no otherwise named by the king, than as lay patrons present to a living. Whether this reasoning be the special pleading of an advocate, or an assertion made in Christian simplicity, the reader will judge.

The privy council being entirely in the reforming interest, issued a commission by which visitors were appointed to the different dioceses of our church, to whom six circuits were assigned. The visitors were selected from the laity as well as the clergy, and each circuit was provided with a preacher. The business of the preacher was to denounce superstition, and to prepare the way for the projected reformatations in our venerable establishment. With each parish priest they also left, besides the paraphrase of Erasmus, some of the homilies, now forming the first book, supposed to be the composition of Dr Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Ridley, Latimer, Hopkins, and Becon.

Before the visitors entered upon their duties, the archbishop of Canterbury sent his mandate by virtue of the king's letter to bishop Bonner, the purport of which was to inhibit the archbishops and bishops from exercising any jurisdiction while the visitation continued. Even the bishops were prohibited from preaching except in their own cathedrals, and the inferior clergy were confined to their parish churches, unless they had a special license from the king.

The bishop of London determined to oppose the reform-

ing government upon this ground. It must be admitted that the measure was an extreme one, that it can only be justified by the necessity of the case, and that on sound ecclesiastical principles it cannot be defended. Here then he appeared in opposition. On the first of September he was summoned to attend before the visitors in his own cathedral church of St Paul's. Here he immediately took the oaths of abjuration and supremacy. He could hardly do otherwise, without involving himself in a charge of inconsistency, and giving evidence of his being under the influence of factious motives. But when he was required to receive the injunctions issued by the visitors and the homilies, he offered to comply but with a certain reservation; "I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them if they be not contrary or repugnant to God's law, and the statutes and ordinances of this church." An ultra-protestant would conceive his conscience to be violated if he were to be required to receive the injunctions and homilies of "fallible men," without this reservation expressed or implied; and Bonner having been himself a reformer, may have thought that for consistency's sake the reform government would have permitted him to proceed thus far. He was mistaken. Reform governments are often arbitrary in their proceedings, and so it was then. The visitors of course perceived the object of Bonner, which was to set the commission at defiance without getting himself into trouble, and they complained of his conduct to the council. Bonner had no notion of becoming a martyr in any sense of the word, as a modern bishop is reported to have said, and therefore, upon due consideration, he addressed the king for permission to make a more implicit and unconditional submission, which was done before his majesty and the privy council in the form following:

"Whereas I Edmund, bishop of London, have at such time as I received the king's majesty's my most dread Sovereign lord's, injunctions and homilies at the hands of his highness's visitors, did unadvisedly make such protes-

tation, as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the ill example that may ensue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject; forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the Register of that visitation enacted and put in record; I have thought it my bounden duty, not only to declare before your lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that this my revocation of the same may likewise be put in the same records for a perpetual memory of the truth: most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may by your good mediations, be pardoned of the king's majesty."

Nothing could be more mean-spirited than the whole conduct of Bonner, but the council wished to keep him for a little time out of the way, and notwithstanding his abject submission committed him to the Fleet. He remained in confinement there only a few weeks, but they were important weeks, for during the time of his restraint, the English litany was sung at St Paul's, and at high mass the Epistle and Gospel were read in the vernacular tongue. The whole proceeding appears so very strange, that we cannot help suspecting that Bonner must by way of compromise have consented to a temporary restraint, that these alterations might be made without his being the person responsible for them. This suspicion is confirmed, if what Heylin tells us be the fact: Bonner on his release so far from making a clamour, and remonstrating with the government on the hard measure he received, shewed his willingness still to act in his old character of reformer, and caused the figures of the Virgin Mary and St John, and all the other images in St Paul's, and the other London churches, to be taken down. In doing this he went beyond the order in council; for the injunctions required only the removal of images, which had been abused by

pilgrimages and unwarrantable worship, but those which served for memory and instruction they permitted to stand, and indeed recommended their use.

Bonner was evidently in the market, and might have been bought, but it is probable the man's character was known, and he was despised. He assented to the acts of the reforming government, and executed every order that was sent him so readily, that, as Burnet observes, there was not so much as ground for any complaint. In 1548 the reformation of the offices of our beloved church was so far completed, that the first liturgy of Edward was published. When completed by a committee duly appointed, the prayer book was revised and approved by the two convocations of Canterbury and York, or rather by a majority of these bodies, and was then submitted for the acceptance of the nation in parliament. In the house of commons it received immediate assent; but in the house of lords it continued longer under deliberation, and among the dissentients who protested, we find the name of the bishop of London. An act, nevertheless, was passed, for the use of the revised book of common prayer throughout the kingdom, entitled "An act for the uniformity of divine service." In this act it is stated that the king had enjoined those by whom the ancient ritual and office books of our church were received and reduced into one book, to "have regard to the direction of the holy Scriptures, and the usages of the primitive church." This work, it was stated, was now finished by the persons appointed with one uniform agreement, "by the aid of the Holy Ghost."

It would seem that the bishop of London now despairing of receiving the confidence of Edward's government, had attached himself more closely to the old conservative and Romanizing party. But there was as yet no open rupture. Of course there was in many quarters opposition, more or less open, to the plans of the reforming government, according to the inclinations of the bishops and the justices of the peace. In St Paul's church it was found that in 1549, notwithstanding the act of uniformity, the

apostles' mass, and our lady's mass, and other masses, "under the defence and nomination of our Lady's Communion," were used in the private chapels, and other remote places of the same church, though not in the chancel; contrary to the king's injunctions. Therefore the lord protector, and others of the council, wrote to the bishop, June 24, complaining of this, and ordering that no such masses should be used in St Paul's church any longer; and that the holy communion, according to the act of parliament, should be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other place of the same, and only at such times as the high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people, for their necessary business, desired to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be exercised in the chancel at the high altar, as was appointed in the book of public service. Accordingly Bonner directed his letters to the dean and chapter of St Paul's, to call together those that were resident, and to declare these matters.

In this year it is well known that the government was justly alarmed by insurrectionary movements in different parts of the country, and Bonner was suspected of conniving at them. It does not seem that there was any proof of his direct encouragement to the rebels, but he was known to be discontented, and perhaps expecting that a change of government might be effected by the disturbances, he became less cautious. The reform government, by a stretch of authority, determined to put him to the proof, and on the 11th of August he was called before the council, and ordered to preach at St Paul's Cross within the next three weeks; to administer the communion at all times when his predecessors had been used to say mass; to summon before him such as absented themselves from the English service; to be more careful in repressing adultery and fornication; and to remain at home during the time which would elapse before the delivery of his prescribed sermon. It was ordered, that he should, in this discourse, inculcate the wickedness of

rebellion, the superiority of practical holiness over ceremonial observances, and the competence of a minor king to make laws binding upon his subjects. On the 1st of September was delivered the expected sermon to a very numerous audience. In this discourse were some observations upon rebellion and upon ceremonies, but nothing upon the obedience due to a sovereign under age. There was, however, other matter calculated to keep alive popular irritation. This matter is considered with great probability to have been a vehement defence of transubstantiation. Among the hearers were John Hooper, soon afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Latimer, incumbent of St Laurence Pountney, in the city of London; and these divines presented an accusatory statement, or denunciation, as it is called, of Bonner's sermon, to the king in council.

It was most important to treat the bishop's disobedience with some severity, because many of the rebels openly declared their determination to obey no new laws, until the king should have arrived at the age of twenty years. Accordingly, on the 8th of September was issued a commission, under the great seal, directed to archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, sir William Petre, and sir Thomas Smyth, the two secretaries of state, and Dr May, the dean of St Paul's; empowering them to require the bishop of London's attendance, to hear such matters as might be objected against him, and if the charges should be proved, to suspend, excommunicate, imprison, or deprive him, as it should seem to them most fit. The commission is grounded upon Bonner's disobedience in his recent sermon, which, it is said, he was required to preach, "upon certain complaints before made, *and other great considerations.*" On the 10th of September, the bishop appeared at Lambeth; all the commissioners excepting Smyth being present. Nothing could exceed the levity and insolence displayed by this unworthy prelate in the presence of his judges. He entered the room in which they sat with his cap upon his head, as if he did not see

them; and when one of those who stood by, pulling him by the sleeve, reminded him that it might be proper to take some respectful notice of the distinguished persons before him, he turned to Cranmer, and said with a laugh: "What are you here, my lord? By my troth, I saw you not." "No," replied the archbishop, "you would not see." "Well," rejoined Bonner, "you have sent for me here; have you any thing to say unto me?" "Yea," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the king's highness to call you to account for neglecting, in your late sermon, to discourse upon that point which you were expressly commanded to handle." Of these words the accused prelate took no notice, but turning to Cranmer, he said, "In good faith, my lord, I would one thing were had more in reverence than it is." The primate asked, "Pray, what is that thing?" The reply was, "The blessed mass: a sacrament upon which your grace has written very well, and I marvel much that you do not honour it more." To this Cranmer answered, "If your lordship think well of my book, it is because you understand it not." Bonner rejoined, "I think that I understand it better than yourself." Upon this the archbishop said, "I could easily make a child of ten years old understand it better than you: but what is that to the purpose?" Business was then begun by a formal statement of the charges objected to the accused, and by an examination of the two principal witnesses. When their testimony was concluded, Bonner utterly denied its truth, and turning them into ridicule, said, "One of them speaks like a goose, the other like a woodcock." Others were then called, who had been present at the delivery of the sermon under consideration, and interrogated as to whether the preacher had inculcated the duty of obedience to a minor king. A negative answer being given, the accused prelate turned round, and said, "Will you believe this fond people?" At length he drew from his bosom a protest in Latin, designating both the proceedings and

the commissioners, as pretended, and reserving to himself the right of excepting against any thing that might be done in his case hereafter, upon the ground of his not having hitherto seen the commission. He then requested to see the written charges preferred against him, and having read them, he said that there was a vagueness about them which rendered a specific reply difficult. On this, the archbishop observed, "The particular matter of complaint against your lordship, is your having omitted to inculcate, upon a late occasion, the duty of obedience to a sovereign under age, according to the injunction delivered to you from the proper authority." Latimer and Hooper were now desired to come forward again, and to depose as to the particulars of what they heard at Paul's Cross. At the close of their evidence, Bonner, looking at them earnestly, thus broke forth: "As for this merchant, Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his evil doings a great while: but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant, Hooper, I have not seen him before: howbeit, I have heard much of his naughty preaching. Ah! my lord of Canterbury, I see that my present trouble is not for the matter pretended, but for my having asserted in my sermon the true presence of our Lord's blessed body and blood in the Sacrament of the altar. Touching this sacrament, my accusers are manifest and notorious heretics; especially this Hooper. On the afternoon of the day in which I preached, this man, having a great rabblement of his damnable sect about him, like an ass as he is, falsely said, that I had asserted the Lord's body and blood after sacramental consecration to be the very same *as* it hung, and *as* it was shed upon the cross. Whereas I preached and affirmed, that the true body and blood of our Saviour is in the Sacrament, the self same *that* was hung, and shed upon the cross." Cranmer then said, "My lord of London, ye speak much of a presence in the Sacrament; what presence is there?" This ques-

tion caused the blood to mount into Bonner's face, and with considerable vehemence, he replied, "What presence, my Lord? I say and believe, that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What and how do you believe, my lord?" The archbishop rejoined: "Do you then believe, that in the Sacrament are present the Saviour's face, nose, eyes, lips, arms, and other members of his body?" Bonner shook his head; and said, "Oh, I am right sorry to hear your grace use such language." He then proposed to argue at greater length upon transubstantiation; but this was refused upon the ground, that the commissioners had assembled to execute the king's orders, not to moot a question of theology. When the accused found, that the business in hand was the only one to which his judges would attend, he desired, still protesting against the competence of the court, to be furnished with a copy of the commission issued against him, with another of the evidence tendered in support of the case, and to have some time allowed for the preparation of his defence. These demands were granted, and the court adjourned.

On the 13th of the same month, the commissioners met again in the archbishop's chapel at Lambeth. Secretary Smyth now taking his place at the board, Bonner objected to his presence as illegal, because he was absent on the former day. This objection, however, was overruled, and the bishop entered upon his defence. This was plentifully garnished with invectives against Latimer and Hooper, whom he styled vile and infamous persons, justly excommunicated by the common consent of Christendom, on account of heretical writings published by the latter of the two, and on account of the heretical sermons delivered by both against transubstantiation. Of his own discourse he then proceeded to give some account. From this it appears, that he enlarged upon the sinfulness of the rebellious, and upon transubstantiation. He also inculcated the duty of obedience to the king, but it does not seem that he touched upon the pretence then so rife

among the agitators, drawn from Edward's minority. That fact, he observed, was known to the whole world, and he added, that he certainly should not have inculcated the danger and iniquity of disobeying the royal authority, unless he had been fully persuaded of its validity under a minor sovereign. The bishop's apology was justly deemed unsatisfactory, and the case proceeded. As for his two principal accusers, Cranmer said, that if there were any law against receiving the evidence of such persons, it must be a bad law, proceeding from the bishop of Rome, and one of which a man unjustly accused would not readily avail himself. "No, sir, it is the king's law," said Bonner. "Well, my lord," replied the primate, "I wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's law and in your duty." The accused rejoined: "Seeing your grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person." In order to stop this unseemly recrimination, the two secretaries interposed, one after the other, and informed the bishop, that since he objected so strongly to the evidence of the two principal witnesses against him, the case could be established by other means, and that no attention would be paid to the legal quibbles by which it was sought to delay the proceedings. Petre then asked him, "Did you write your sermon, my lord, or no?" The answer was, "I wrote it not: I merely drew up some notes for my direction in the delivery of it." The business of the day soon after closed without the farther occurrence of any thing material.

Within three days afterwards, the court having met again in the archbishop's chapel, Latimer declared that he had been falsely accused of heresy and of conspiring with Hooper; he never having holden any communication with that divine until after the day on which the bishop delivered his sermon. Hooper also defended himself from the imputation of having preached or published heretical doctrines, by shewing that he had maintained no opinions at variance with Scripture. In his defence he termed Bonner, reprehensibly it must be admitted,

“That ungodly man.” The accused prelate, however, retorted upon him by saying, “I have here this varlet’s books, against the blessed Sacrament; and from them I will convict him of heresy.” He then proceeded to turn over the leaves of some books which he drew from his sleeve. While thus engaged, Hooper began to speak again: “Put up your pipes,” said Bonner, “you have spoken for your part.” He then proceeded to read extracts from the books in his hands, but in a manner so light and ridiculous, that the spectators behind began to laugh. This disconcerted him, and turning round with a strong expression of anger, he said, “Ah, woodcocks: woodcocks.” After this sally of intemperate absurdity, Cranmer addressed the spectators to warn them against believing that the bishop was brought into trouble for his opinions upon transubstantiation. The commissioners, would not permit Bonner to reply; but it was found impossible to prevent him from charging the archbishop with having published at different times two books respecting the Eucharist, which contradicted each other. This Cranmer denied. After some farther altercation between the two prelates, it was determined to call for the defence without more delay. His apology proved very lame. He had begun to write his sermon, he said, but becoming weary, had soon contented himself with merely making notes; that these contained many examples, both scriptural and from profane histories, of kings obeyed during their minority; that his notes, however, unfortunately proved of inconsiderable use to him, partly, because his little practice in preaching, rendered his memory in the pulpit not so effective as he could have wished, partly, because the council had sent to him to read a long account of successes obtained over the rebels, and partly, because some of his papers slipped away from him while he was engaged in the delivery of his discourse. Such excuses being deemed of little value, the proceedings continued, and at the fifth session, the accused prelate was committed to the Marshalsea by order of sir Thomas Smyth,

for refusing to answer some interrogatories offered to him. At the seventh session, held on the 1st of October, by the act of all the five employed in the investigation, who called themselves commissioners, or judges delegate, he was deprived of the bishopric of London, together with all its rights and emoluments. The grounds of this sentence, are, his connivance at adultery within his diocese, and at the conduct of those who followed foreign religious rites disapproved by the national church ; his absence from the sermons at Paul's Cross, and moreover his letters advising the lord mayor and aldermen to absent themselves ; and his omitting to inculcate in his prescribed sermon the duty of obeying a minor sovereign.

There seems to be little cause for doubt that the commissioners had information that Bonner was more deeply implicated in the insurrectionary movements than they could prove, and his conduct is very suspicious. Why should a person so unscrupulous hesitate to preach as the council directed? Why omit in his sermon the very portion which they most insisted upon, although, when brought before them, he admitted the principle which he neglected publicly to maintain? The obvious answer is, that his tongue was tied, because it was known to many that he had asserted that the king's laws were not obligatory during his minority, and that people were not obliged to obey his authority until he was of age. The rebels would have attacked him if he had obeyed the court. Bonner now might understand, why, when he condescended to apply for a license to act as bishop of London, the license was granted merely during the king's pleasure. Bonner was deprived, not on ecclesiastical grounds, but as a traitor; and the governments of all countries have assumed the power of depriving traitors of their sees.

It is however impossible wholly to justify the proceedings against Bonner, or the manner in which they were conducted. Bonner's insolence may have been intolerable, but even the friendly pen of Fox represents the members of the court, including Cranmer, as conducting themselves with-

out any dignity, and with little display of Christian temper. We should not have expected it in Bonner, but in the others we look for it, though we look in vain.

Bonner now in retirement brooded over his wrongs, real or imaginary, and prepared his mind for that sanguinary revenge which has rendered his name a byword to all generations. He was succeeded in his bishopric by the bishop of Rochester, Dr Ridley. One is always pleased to find traits of good in this excellent and learned man, and we are told, on his taking possession of the see of London, of "his gentle and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called mistress Bonner, mother to doctor Bonner, sometime bishop of London; which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr Ridley, as the unworthy immanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr Bonner. Bishop Ridley being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for the said mistress Bonner, dwelling in an house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one mistress Mongey, Bonner's sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body; being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, he saying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) by your lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness, and pitiful pity after, at the hands of the said Dr Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward, was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty. As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shippeside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner,

but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them : whereas on the other side, B. Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of B. Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother bishop Ridley, but also churlishly without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had."

Queen Mary, having overcome all opposition, entered London, August 3rd, 1552, and gave a pardon to Bonner two days afterwards. On the 16th of that month, he attended a sermon preached by Bourn, his chaplain, at St Paul's Cross, on the passage of Scripture which he had himself discussed there four years before. In this discourse he was described as unjustly treated in the late reign ; but some of the auditors exclaimed that he had preached abomination, and a tumult ensued, which is noticed in the histories of that period. On the 22d of the month, a commission was issued to certain civilians for considering his deprivation. They pronounced it void, but their sentence was not formally promulged until September 5th. He seems, however, to have already acted as diocesan, the Latin service being again used in St Paul's, August 27th, most probably by his authority. By law it stood prohibited until the end of October, when an act was passed repealing king Edward's legislation, and restoring the old Romish liturgy, on the 20th of December. Bonner was equally prompt in depriving the married clergy of his diocese, taking upon himself to inflict this hardship upon them in February, 1554, although the royal authority for his purpose was not issued until March 4th.

In 1554 he was made vice-gerent and president of convocation in the room of archbishop Cranmer ; and in the summer of the same year he commenced the visitation of his diocese with a special view of abolishing all the reforms which had been adopted in the preceding reign. It would seem that Bonner had a suspicion that his having

once been a reformer might render him suspected by the new government as not being sufficiently devoted to the cause of Rome. Although he had not very boldly opposed the late government, yet he had suffered, in some respects, as a Romanizer, although actually as one guilty of misprision of treason. He was determined in his visitation to shew that he had no remains of a reforming disposition left in him. An account of this visitation is preserved, and although Fox is a person not much to be depended upon, yet there does not seem to be any ground for doubting its substantial correctness. The bishop of London, we are told, also published a book of religious instruction, compiled, as he says in the preface, by himself and his chaplains. The book, however, is little more, in fact, than a republication of the *Institution of a Christen Man*, adapted for present use by means of certain modifications and omissions, especially with regard to the pope. It might seem that Bonner was offended, in his progress through his diocese, with the texts of Scripture which yet continued written upon the walls of many churches; for soon after his return home, he issued a mandate, enjoining the erasure of these obnoxious inscriptions, and threatening with excommunication such parochial officers as should not blot them out immediately. The inscribers of scriptural texts upon church walls are thus characterized by him: "All which persons tend chiefly to this end, that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as in them lay, the reverend Sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy days, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the Catholic Church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue." The document containing this charitable and veracious account of such Christians as considered texts of Scripture a more safe and profitable ornament of churches, than figures of saints, or even of Christ, is addressed to the parish of Hadham particularly, and to the diocese of London generally. When the bishop was upon his visitation, he

came to Hadham somewhat before the time appointed. Hence his ears, on approaching that place, were not greeted by the sound of bells, nor was the rector on the road to meet him. His irritation at these omissions was increased, on reaching the village, by finding the church door locked. At length he gained admission, and his anger immediately found fresh fuel. Neither was a consecrated wafer hanging up, nor the rood-loft adorned in the usual manner. "Knave, heretic," said he, with an oath, to Dr Bricket, the rector, "I had hoped to see in this mine own church, the best order: but here I find the most disorder, to my heavy discomfort." Bricket endeavoured to mollify him by humble apologies, representing that his arrival before the time expected had caused the omissions of which he complained; that whatever he might desire should be performed with all expedition; and that if he would adjourn to the parsonage-house, where an entertainment awaited him, such arrangements should be made as he might prescribe. Bonner, after listening awhile with undissembled rage, thus broke silence: "Before God thou art a knave. Avaunt heretic." The rector turned, and his diocesan, anxious, it might seem, to give him another proof of his abhorrence, raised his arm to strike, or thrust him. Unluckily, the blow took full effect upon the ear of sir John Jocelyn, a gentleman seated in the neighbourhood. The knight starting indignantly, Feckenham, dean of St Paul's, thus attempted to pacify him. "O, master Jocelyn, you must bear with my lord: for truly, his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there have altered him, and in these passions he is not ruler of himself; nor booteth it any man to give him counsel until his heat be past: and then, assure yourself, master Jocelyn, my lord will be sorry for those abuses that he now cannot see in himself." Sir John good-humouredly replied; "So it seemeth, master Feckenham, for now my lord is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is fit to go into Bedlam." On quitting the church of Hadham, Bonner angrily mounted his

horse, and rode on to Ware. Several of his attendants, however, were persuaded by Dr Bricket to stay behind, and partake of the handsome dinner which he had provided at the parsonage.

The preface to Bonner's articles of enquiry contains the following oblique reference to his former patronage of opinions now completely out of favour: "The said bishop withal desireth all people to understand, that whatsoever opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose is to do his duty charitably." The queries are in number thirty-seven, and some of them relate to such general matters of discipline as fall at all times under the cognizance of those who govern the Church. Among those peculiarly suited to the time we find the following; Whether clergymen were married, or taken for married, or had lost their wives by death, or were openly separated from females with whom, notwithstanding, they continued to cohabit, or defended clerical marriages?—Whether they duly performed the service on all days appropriated to religious purposes?—Whether they were suspected of heresy, or favoured, or associated with those so suspected?—Whether any ecclesiastic lived in the parish who absented himself from church?—Whether any married priests, or persons naming themselves ministers kept conventicles?—Whether individuals opposing transubstantiation "or any other article of the Catholic faith" were admitted to the Sacrament?—Whether English had been used in the service since the queen's proclamation to the contrary?—Whether clergymen have exhorted their parishioners "to be confessed and to receive the benefit of absolution, according to the laudable custom of this realm?"—Whether "touching the solemnization of the Sacrament of matrimony, and also of all other the Sacraments of the Church, they have kept and observed the old and laudable custom of the Church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the same?"—Whether they have publicly announced in the time of service, or

Sundays, “all such holy days and fasting days, as of godly usage and custom have heretofore laudably been accustomed to be kept and observed in the week following, and whether they have themselves observed the said days?—Whether they went abroad appareled as ecclesiastics, with tonsures and shaven chins?—Whether baptism, already lawfully performed, has been repeated; or whether any new forms have been followed in the administration of that Sacrament?—Whether once, at least, in every quarter, the parishioners have been instructed, in the vulgar tongue, in “the articles of the Catholic faith; the ten commandments of the old law, the two commandments of the gospel, or new law; the seven works of mercy; the seven deadly sins, with their offspring, progeny, and issue; the seven principal virtues; and the seven sacraments of the Church?”—Whether pregnant women have been admonished to confess and receive the Sacrament when near the time of delivery, and to have water in readiness for christening their offspring, if necessity so require it?—Whether any priests having been ordained schismatically, “or being unlawfully and schismatically married, have officiated in the church,” although “not yet reconciled or admitted by the ordinary?”

The Marian persecutions commenced in 1555; and the bishop of London in February of that year went to Oxford with Thirlby, bishop of Ely, to degrade archbishop Cranmer, which office he executed with brutal insolence. As he was degrading him he said, “This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed Sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.”

Whereunto the bishop interrupting him said that in that he belied him, as he did indeed in many other things: for that which he would now seem to charge him withal, was

his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. "For the thing you mean was in Paul's church" (said he) "where I came to sit in commission; and there was a scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers; and whether there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it; wherefore you do wittingly evil to charge me with it."

But Bonner went on still in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the archbishop, beginning every sentence with, "This is the man, this is the man," till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unmannerly usage of him in that time and place; inso-much that the bishop of Ely aforesaid, divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had intreated him earnestly to use Cranmer with reverence.

The bishop of London's conduct on this occasion was so offensive, that brutal as were the humours to which he was liable, it is only to be accounted for by his feelings of personal dislike to the man. In all the horrid proceedings of a reign which has caused the queen to be called "the bloody Mary," Bonner bore such a prominent part as to have rendered his own name a byeword and reproach to succeeding generations. For Mary some excuse is to be made. In private she was eminent for many good and amiable qualities, and she seems to have been weak rather than wicked. When we remember how good king George the third permitted men to be hanged for forgery, and how such executions were justified because, in a commercial country, it was supposed trade would be ruined if severity in that respect were relaxed; we can understand how many might be persuaded of the necessity of burning heretics in order to prevent impiety. But this excuse is not available in Bonner's case, for though "he proceeded only according to the statutes then in force," the brutal manner in which he conducted himself towards parties

accused, is sufficient to prove the hardness of his heart and his vindictive temper. He sometimes whipped his prisoners with his own hands till he was tired with the violence of the exercise ; and on one occasion he tore out the beard of a weaver, and that he might give him a specimen of burning, held his hand to a candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst. At one time he does undoubtedly appear to have become weary, and perhaps ashamed of the persecution. In common with other prelates, his energies in the hateful task relaxed. Upon him lay its chief weight. Gardiner did little more than set it on foot ; and after him, Bonner was the most prominent of his order. The diocese of London, too, contained the principal seat of population, together with an extensive rural district, which, like the other eastern counties, had been largely imbued with protestantism. Prisoners from parts of England over which he had no jurisdiction, were likewise often sent to the metropolis, so that a very large proportion of those who were suspected of holding heretical opinions came under his cognizance. Hence he was called upon to vindicate Romanism by fire and fagot, until some symptoms of reluctance were observed. The infatuated government saw them with displeasure, and by a circular, dated May 25th, 1555, rebuked the prelacy for its abating zeal. Bonner immediately resumed his former activity, and it continued until Mary's death ended the persecution. In three years he is said to have executed two hundred persons, besides those who by his directions were scourged and otherwise tortured.

When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, the bishop of London accompanied the other prelates of our excellent establishment to meet her majesty at Highgate, as she came from Hatfield to London : all the bishops had the honour of kissing her hand except Bonner. There is, however, no reason to suppose that he would have been deprived of his bishopric if he had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy. But it would have been hypocrisy

too barefaced even for him to have done this, and therefore, having remained for some time unmolested, he was, on the 30th of May, 1559, brought before the privy council, and for refusing to take the oaths, was again deprived of his bishopric on the 29th of June following, and committed to the Marshalsea. His confinement was not very strict, and was at first absolutely necessary, as an ebullition of popular vengeance, which was far from unlikely, might have sacrificed his life. But although secluded generally from the public eye, he sometimes walked abroad, and within his prison he lived in the free enjoyment of every personal indulgence. His last appearance before the world was caused by an injudicious tender to him of the oath of supremacy by Horn, bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese the Marshalsea lay. He refused it, and was indicted in the court of King's Bench. He employed very able counsel in his defence, who admitted his refusal of the oath, but started various legal objections to Horn's episcopal character, which, if substantiated, would have disqualified him for administering the oath. Parliament interposed to prevent the evils which legal subtlety might have caused from the agitation of this question. An act was passed affirming the validity of episcopal consecrations under the queen, and an indemnity was voted for such refusals of the oath as had already taken place. Thus Bonner escaped from further molestation. He died in the Marshalsea, Sept. 5, 1569, and was buried, among other prisoners, in St George's church-yard, Southwark.

Such is the history of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, who, with his contemporary Gardiner, has made Romanism so odious in the eyes of Englishmen, that Romanizers have never since been able to maintain a permanent footing in our church. Without personal religion, he defended the established system; and had he lived at a later age, he would probably have defended whatever system he found established, while the evil passions of his vindictive mind would have found vent in the anonymous

correspondence of a newspaper, or in the conduct of some so-called religious periodical.—*Burnet. Fox. Collier. Strype. Soames. Dod.*

BORGIA, CÆSAR. We hear men, in these days, instituting a comparison between the church of England and the church of Rome unfavourable to the former. Great things are said in favour of medi-æval religion; the discipline of the Romish church is pronounced to be perfect; and if an English prelate falls into heresy, as is sometimes the case, or subscribes to the circulation of works which deny the Lord who bought us, we are immediately told that such things could not be tolerated in Rome. The life of Cæsar Borgia will be read with profit by such persons. He was thoroughly papal, being the son of Alexander VI. Roderic Borgia was left guardian of Catherine Vanozza, having, it is said, intrigued with her mother, a Roman lady; and by Catherine Vanozza he had five children, of whom Cæsar was the second. Such was Roderic Borgia, a Spaniard, who obtained high preferments in the church, until, to the delight of his children, he was elevated to the popedom in 1492. Cæsar Borgia was at that time at the university of Pisa, but hastened to Rome, where, to make his preferment more acceptable, the pope, adding hypocrisy to his other sins, declaimed against nepotism, and then preferred his son to the archbishopric of Valencia. The pope had previously obtained from Ferdinand, the catholic king of Arragon, the dukedom of Gandia in Valencia, for his eldest son; and in 1493 he raised Cæsar to the cardinalate. The king of Naples gave his daughter in marriage to Geoffrey, the pope's youngest son, and promised the best benefices as they fell, to Cæsar, now cardinal Valentine. Thus were the natural sons of the pope of Rome amply provided for; and the mischief resulting from the constrained celibacy of the clergy fully substantiated. Both for crimes and for talents Cæsar soon proved himself worthy of his parentage.

The ecclesiastical state had hitherto been kept ~~divided~~ by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Orsini and the Colonnas. Like the other papal families, Alexander and his son allied themselves with one of the two, the Orsini or Guelph party. With the help of this alliance, they soon succeeded in mastering all their enemies. They drove the Sforzas from Pesaro, the Malatestas from Rimini, and the Manfredi from Faenza; they seized those powerful and strongly fortified towns, and presently formed them into a powerful lordship. No sooner had they advanced so far, no sooner had they rid themselves of their enemies, than they turned against their friends. In this respect there was a marked difference between the Borgias and their predecessors, the latter of whom had always been trammelled by the party to which they had attached themselves. Cæsar Borgia, without hesitation or compunction, assailed his own confederates. The duke of Urbino, who had hitherto aided in his aggrandizement, found himself suddenly, and without the least warning, entangled in his toils, and with difficulty escaped, a hunted fugitive in his own domains. Upon this, Vitelli, Baglioni, and the heads of the Orsini determined to show him at least that they were capable of resisting him. He on his part said: "It is right and fit to betray those who are the masters of all treachery;" he decoyed them with deliberate, profoundly calculated cruelty into the trap he had laid for them, and mercilessly despatched them. After he had tamed both parties in this fashion, he stepped into their places; gathered their adherents, the inferior nobility, round him, and took them into his pay: he kept the territories he had seized in subjection by force of severity and terror.

And thus Alexander saw his warmest wish fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house in train to found a great hereditary principality in Italy. But he soon had to feel practically of what the aroused passions are capable. Cæsar would not brook the participation of

his power with any relation or favourite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the river. He had his brother-in-law assailed on the very steps of the palace. His wife and his sister nursed the wounded man; the latter dressed his food with her own hands for fear of poison: the pope had a guard set on his own house to protect his son-in-law from his son: Cæsar mocked at all these precautions, saying, "What has failed at noon may easily be done in the evening." When the prince was now convalescent, Cæsar burst into his chamber, turned out the wife and the sister, called in his bravo, and had his unfortuate brother-in-law strangled. For as to his father, on whose life and station he looked only as a means towards his own aggrandizement, he had not a thought of treating him in other respects with the least consideration. He slew Alexander's favourite Peroto beneath the pontifical mantle, as the victim clung close to his patron: the blood spurted in the pope's face.

For a time Cæsar had Rome and the ecclesiastical states in his power. He was a man of surpassing beauty; so strong that in the bull-fight he would strike off the bull's head at a single blow; liberal-handed, not without traits of magnanimity; voluptuous, bloody: how did Rome tremble at his name! Cæsar needed gold and had enemies—every night the corpses of murdered men were found in the streets. Every man held his breath; for there was none who might not fear that his own turn would come next. Those whom violence could not reach, were taken off by poison.

In August, 1497, Cæsar Borgia crowned as legate *a latere* specially commissioned, Frederic king of Naples, and this was his last conspicuous appearance in an ecclesiastical character, for in 1498, he made application to the college of cardinals for leave to relinquish his ecclesiastical condition, declaring that he had entered it against his will and by desire of the pope: condemning his papal father, even if he exculpated himself. The submissive

cardinals, having ascertained the pope's wish, gave their consent, and Cæsar now obtained from the French king the dukedom of Valentinos, in Dauphigny, with the promise of having for his wife Alan d'Albret, sister to the queen of Navarre.

After a career of reckless cupidity, his prospects were blighted by the death of Alexander VI, in 1503. Among the numerous documents given in the fifth volume of Sanuto, occurs the following, which is transcribed from Ranke's appendix.

This is the way pope Alexander VI came by his death.

The cardinal datary Arian da Corneto having been graciously informed by the pope that he intended to visit him at his vineyard, with the duke of Valentinos, to sup with him, and that his holiness would bring the supper with him, the cardinal conceived that the invitation was made with a view to put him to death by poison, so that the duke might have his money and preferments ; it being resolved on by the pope by all means to deprive him of life in order to get possession of his property, as I have said, which was great. Casting about how he might preserve himself, he saw but one way of safety. He sent betimes to desire the pope's carver, with whom he was intimate, to come and speak with him, and on his arrival, the two retired to a secret place, where were provided 10,000 gold ducats, which the said carver was prevailed on by the cardinal to accept and keep for his sake. The former accepted them after many words, and the cardinal offered him moreover all the rest of his means to command, he being exceedingly rich, for he said he could not keep the same except through the said carver's aid, adding, " You know certes the pope's character, and I know that he has planned with the duke of Valentinos to compass my death by poison at your hand," wherefore he besought him to have pity on him, and spare his life. Thereupon the carver declared to him the mode appointed

for administering poison to him at supper, and yielded to compassion, promising to save him. The manner was, that he was to present after supper three boxes of lozenge confectionary, one to the pope, one to the said cardinal, and one to the duke, and in that of the cardinal was the poison. So the cardinal directed the aforesaid carver how he should serve them, and cause that the pope should eat of the drugged box intended for the cardinal, and so poison himself and die. Accordingly the pope being come on the appointed day to supper, with the aforesaid duke, the cardinal threw himself at his feet, embracing them closely, and kissing them, intreating his holiness with most affectionate words, saying that he would never rise from that posture if his holiness did not grant him a favour. The pontiff questioning him and urging him to rise, the cardinal persisted in his suit, and pressed his holiness to promise he would grant it. After much entreaty the pope, no little surprised at the steadfastness with which the cardinal refused to rise, gave him his promise. Thereupon the cardinal stood up and said, "Holy father, it is not meet that when the master comes to the house of the servant, the servant should eat as an equal with his master:" the favour he begged, therefore, was the reasonable and honourable one, that he the servant should wait on his holiness at table, which favour the pope granted. Supper having been served, when the time was come to set on the confectionary, the poisoned confection was put into the box by the carver according to the pope's original order, and the cardinal being aware in which box there was no poison, tasted the same, and set the poisoned one before the pope, and his holiness, trusting to his carver, and seeing the cardinal tasting, thought there was no poison therein, and ate of it heartily, while the cardinal ate of the other which the pope thought was poisoned, and which was not so. In due time then, after the kind of the poison, his holiness began to feel its effects, and in suchwise died thereof: the cardinal, who was somewhat

alarmed, physicked and vomited himself, and took no hurt, though he escaped not without difficulty.

With the life of his father the power of Cæsar Borgia ceased, and he owed his own preservation to the protection of the king of France. After a time he fled to Naples, where Gonsalvo of Cordova arrested him, May 27, 1504, and sent him into Spain, considering apparently his talents for intrigue, knowledge of state secrets, and utter want of principle, dangerous to the peace of Italy. The Spanish court confined him two years in the castle of Medina del Campo, whence he escaped by a window, and took refuge with John, king of Navarre, his brother-in-law. He then strove to regain his hold upon Lewis XII; but that prince would not receive him, confiscated his duchy of Valentinos, and withdrew the pensions that he had received from France. He was thus obliged for a subsistence to remain at the court of Navarre. The king of that little state was engaged in hostilities with Lewis of Beaumont, one of his subjects, and Cæsar Borgia, serving as a volunteer in his army, was killed under the walls of Viana, March 12th, 1507.

It has been remarked that "even monstrosity has its perfection." Many sons and nephews of the popes have attempted similar things, but none ever carried them to such a pitch. Cæsar was a virtuoso in crime.

The necessity of the reformation may be seen from this narrative, which is here given on that account. And whatever may be the faults of the church of England, we may bless God that we have been separated from the church of Rome, which declares itself to be unchangeable, and in which such deeds were done.—*Ranke. Roscoe. Bower. Chaufipie.*

BORRAMEO, CHARLES, was born in the Milanese, of an illustrious family, on the 2nd of October, 1538, and lived to become one of the brightest ornaments of the modern church of Rome. Such was the corruption

of the Italian church at this period, that when he was only twelve years old, his uncle, Julius Cæsar Borromeo, resigned to him the rich Benedictine abbey of SS. Gralinian and Felin, in the territory of Arona. He was educated first at Milan, and afterwards at the university of Pavia. In this papal university we are informed by Alban Butler that several snares were laid for his virtue; but he found protection in his God, whom he sought in prayer and retirement, and through whose grace he was carried through all difficulties. He took the degree of L.L.D. towards the end of the year 1559, having a little before received another abbey and priory on the resignation of his uncle, the cardinal de Medicis. This same uncle was at the close of the year just mentioned chosen to succeed Paul IV as pope, and one of his first acts was to make his nephew a cardinal although he was only in his twenty-third year, and in the February following he advanced the youth to the archbishopric of Milan. He was not permitted by the pope, Pius IV, to reside in his diocese, but he was detained at Rome, where he was placed at the head of the consult, or council, and was entrusted with the entire administration of the ecclesiastical state.

At school and at college his conduct had been such as to merit the approbation of all who knew him. When first, owing to the corruption of the Church, he received an abbey, he reminded his father, that after deducting the expenses necessary for his education, the property belonged to the poor, and the poor were the only gainers when he received other ecclesiastical preferments at college, as he did not increase his private expenses. But he could not resist the contagion of Rome, and now he availed himself of the many preferments heaped upon him by his uncle to indulge his taste for magnificence. The youthful ecclesiastic was legate of Bologna, Romaniola, marquis of Ancona, and protector of Portugal, the Low Countries, and the Roman Catholic Cantons of Switzer-

land, and of the orders of St Francis, the Carmelites, the knights of Malta, and others. He gathered around him all who were distinguished for their rank or learning. His house was magnificently furnished; his equipages were among the most splendid in Rome; his table was sumptuously served. But in the midst of the dissipations of the profligate court of Rome he sighed for better things. He instituted in the vatican an academy, in the conferences of which he learned to overcome his natural bashfulness, to correct an impediment of speech, and to perfect his style. He studied deeply the philosophical works of Cicero. But he sought in vain to silence the upbraidings of his conscience by the charms of literature. He had in a measure provided for the spiritual wants of his neglected diocese by appointing under him a suffragan bishop, but still he felt that he had incurred responsibilities which he did not fulfil. To Bartholemew de Martyribus, who happened to be at Rome, he opened his grief: remarking, "For this long time I have begged of God, with all the earnestness I am able, to enlighten me with regard to the state in which I live. You see my condition. You know what it is to be a pope's nephew, and a nephew most tenderly beloved by him: nor are you ignorant what it is to live in the court of Rome. The dangers which encompass me are infinite. I see a great number; and there are a great many more which I do not discern. What then ought I to do, young as I am, and without experience; and having no part or ingredient of virtue, but, through the Divine grace, an earnest desire of obtaining it?" The cardinal proceeded to explain his difficulties and fears; and then added: "God has inspired me with a vehement ardour for penance, and an earnest desire to prefer His fear and my salvation to all things; and I have some thoughts of breaking my bonds, and retiring into some monastery, there to live, as if there were only God and myself in the world." His director, after a short pause, cleared all his doubts, assuring him, by solid

reasons, that he ought not to quit his hold of the helm which God put into his hands, for the necessary and most important service of the universal Church, his uncle being very old: but that he ought to contrive means to attend his own church, as soon as God should open him a way to it. Borromeo rising up, embraced him, and said, God had sent him thither for his sake, and that his words had removed a heavy weight from his heart; and he begged that God, who by His grace had shewn him the station in which it was His will that he should labour in His service, would vouchsafe to support him in it by His divine grace.

On the death of his elder brother, in 1562, the worldly-minded pope pressed him to resign his ecclesiastical dignities, and as he had succeeded to the family estates to marry; but to this arrangement Borromeo refused to consent. He availed himself of his increased means to found the college of the Borromeos at Pavia.

The Romish council of Trent had been convened by Paul III in the year 1545, and, by repeated prorogations, was continued throughout the reigns of his successors, Julius III, Marcellus II, and Paul IV. It was brought to a conclusion by Pius IV in 1563. No sooner was the council, through the zeal and prudence of Borromeo, brought to a conclusion, than he began strenuously to enforce its decrees, and to urge his uncle to carry out its principles. Pius IV published his creed in 1564, and the creed of pope Pius has since become the symbol of Romanism; the presumptuous prelate having ventured to add articles to the Christian faith. The council had recommended a revision of the breviary and missal, and likewise the composition of a catechism. To complete the last work, known indifferently as the *Catechismus Tridentinus*, *Catechismus Romanus*, and *Catechismus ad Parochos*, Borromeo associated with himself Francis Foreiro, a Portuguese Dominican, and Giles Foscariri, bishop of Modena. This catechism was published in 1566.

Borromeo carried out the suggestions of the council in his own person; he retrenched his expenses, dismissed many of his servants, and neither wore silk himself, nor permitted any of his family to do so: he banished all superfluities from his house, fasted once a week on bread and water, and made every day two meditations of an hour. He wrote, every week, long and affectionate letters to his grand vicar at Milan, on subjects relating to the government of his diocese. At last he obtained the pope's permission to do his duty: he was permitted to hold a council at Milan and to make a visitation. Before his departure his fond uncle created him legate *a latere*, through all Italy. He left Rome in September 1565, and was engaged in the duties of his office, when he received news that the pope was dangerously ill. He therefore hastily returned to Rome, and knowing the worldly-mindedness of the pope, and what his past life had been, he entered his chamber and said to him: "Most holy father, all your desires and thoughts ought to be turned towards heaven. Behold Jesus Christ crucified, who is the only foundation of our hope: He is our mediator and advocate: the victim and sacrifice for our sins. He is goodness and patience itself: His mercy is moved by the tears of sinners, and He never refuses pardon and grace to those who ask it with a truly contrite and humble heart." He then conjured the pope to grant him one favour, as the greatest he had ever received from him. The pope said, any thing in his power should be granted him. "The favour which I most earnestly beg, said Borromeo, is, that as you have but a very short time to live, you lay aside all worldly business and thoughts, and employ your strength and all your powers, in thinking on your salvation, and in preparing yourself to the best of your power for your last passage." The pope received this tender advice with great comfort, and the cardinal gave strict orders that no one should speak to the pope upon any other subject. He continued by his uncle's bed-side to

his last breath, never ceasing to dispose him for death by all the pious practices and sentiments which his charity could suggest; and administering himself the viaticum and extreme unction.

On his uncle's death he returned to his diocese, where his austerities to himself became most severe, and his charities to others unbounded. He reproved the bishops of his province for their love of money; and resigning his sinecures and selling his plate, he placed the whole management of his revenues in commission, that they might be expended in supporting hospitals for the poor, and schools for the instruction of the people. In 1571, when the plague broke out at Milan, he hastened from Rome, that, while others fled from the infected city, he might be at the post of duty: he sold the furniture of his house to meet the necessities of the suffering people, and exerted himself night and day to minister to their spiritual wants. That his heroic charity was met with ingratitude will not excite surprise. From some of the clergy even, who ought to have supported him, he met with opposition, as they claimed to be free from his jurisdiction, and he was accused of tyranny for trying to exercise authority over them. But he remained calm and gentle: the most atrocious injuries and the blackest actions of ingratitude never discomposed his mind; and defamatory libels published against him he burnt without reading. Newspapers he would not read, saying that a bishop ought to employ his mind and heart in meditating on the things of God, which that man cannot do who fills his mind with the vain curiosities of the world. The most exemplary of contemporary prelates, he died on the 4th of November, 1584, worn out by austerities and pious labours, in his 47th year.

The greatest blot on his character is that which Romish historians mention to his credit, that he had an extraordinary devotion to the blessed Virgin, and a veneration for relics. But this is the fault of that

portion of the Church with which he was connected, the church of Rome being guilty of idolatry to the Virgin and other saints.

His works, which are chiefly doctrinal and practical, were published at Milan, with notes, in 1747, in five vols, folio. His instructions to confessors were printed as a manual for French ecclesiastics, in 1657, by the general assembly of the clergy of France.

It was a rule with him to make a spiritual retreat twice every year, in each of which he made a general confession. The first retreat and general confession was made under Alexander Saulo, afterwards bishop of Pavia, in 1568, and this he ever afterwards called his conversion to God; so great was the spiritual profit he derived from it.—*Butler. Tournon abridged. Moreri. Freheri Theatrum.*

BORRROMEO, FREDERIC, cousin-german of the preceding, and educated under his direction, by whom he was placed in his newly founded college at Pavia; like him, too, a cardinal and archbishop of Milan. He died in 1632, aged sixty-eight, leaving, *Meditamenta Litteraria*, published in 1633, and some religious works. Literature, however, is chiefly indebted to him as the founder of the famous Ambrosian library, at Milan, in which were placed nearly 10,000 MSS. many of them oriental.—*Moreri Saxii Onomasticon. Freheri Theatrum.*

BOSQUET, was born at Narbonne, May 28th, 1605, and was educated in the college of Foix in Toulouse. He was originally a lawyer. Before he entered into orders, he had held very honourable offices; he had been intendant of Guienne and Languedoc, solicitor-general to the parliament of Normandy, and was counsellor of state in ordinary, when he was appointed bishop of Lodeve in 1648, upon the resignation of John de Plantavit, his particular friend, but he did not take possession of the see till January 1656.

About the beginning of the pontificate of Alexander the VIIth he went to Rome, being a deputy on the part of the king and clergy of France on the affair of the five propositions. Here the pope shewed particular attention to him on many occasions. Bosquet, upon his return to France, was translated to the bishopric of Montpellier. During the sitting of the clergy of France at St Germain's, in 1675, he petitioned the king to give him his nephew, the abbe de Pradel, as coadjutor in his see, which his majesty granted. From this time he lived retired in his diocese till his death, which happened on the 24th of June, 1676. He left the following works: 1. Pontificorum Romanorum, qui e Gallia oriundi, in ea sederunt, historia ab anno 1315 ad anno 1394. Paris, 1632. 2. Synopsis legum Michaelis Belli. Paris, 1632. 3. Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ histor. &c. Paris, 1636. 4. La vie de S. Fulcran. 5. Discours sur la regle danc l'assemblé du clergé de France, anno 1655. 6. Specimen Iconis historicæ cardinalis Mazarini. There are likewise some pieces of his in manuscript.—*Usserius in Pref. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. Journal de Savans. Moreri.*

BOSSUET, JAMES BENIGNE, was born at Dijon, on the 27th of September, 1627. While he was a mere boy he read the Scriptures with intense delight, a sacred pleasure which only increased with his years. They became, indeed, so familiar to him, that the verse, the line, the word which he wished to remember, was ever present to his memory; and it was generally supposed by his friends, that he knew the whole contents of the sacred volume by heart.

He was placed under the care of his uncle by whom he was sent to the college of Jesuits at Dijon; from whence in due course he was removed to Paris, and entered there in the college of Navarre. In 1652 he took his doctor's degree, and soon after received the order of priesthood. He was afterwards made a canon of Metz, and was successively raised to the rank of archdeacon and dean of that

church. His character as a scholar and a divine was at this time fully established, and he was soon employed by his bishop to refute a catechism by Paul Ferry, a protestant minister. He so conducted this controversy as to win the respect of his opponents, as well as the applause of his friends, and he attracted the attention of the court, especially of the queen mother, Ann of Austria. Under the auspices of the French court he laboured successfully in converting the protestants in the diocese of Metz to the established Church. He had frequently occasion to visit Paris, where, by the force of his preaching, he attracted notice, and found a devoted follower in the queen mother, by whose means he was appointed to preach before the king in the Advent of 1661, and in the following Lent. He so conciliated the royal favour, that, in 1669, the king nominated Bossuet to the bishopric of Condom. He was duly consecrated in 1670, but within twelve months he resigned his see, having been appointed preceptor to the dauphin. Upon his resignation the king gave him the priory of Plassis Grimoux, which provided him with an income of £300 a year, and though he afterwards received the abbey of St Lucian de Beauvais, he modelled his establishment according to the income he first received, and devoted the surplus to charitable purposes. For the instruction of his royal pupil, he acquired such a share of anatomical knowledge, as to be able to compose a short course of anatomy, which has been favourably spoken of by medical men. But the principal work of Bossuet, which we owe to his education of the dauphin, is his celebrated *Introduction to Universal History; Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, which was first published in 1681. Of this work there are three divisions; the first, which is chronological, is based on the labours of our own archbishop Usher; in the second part he displays, in a strain of sublime eloquence, the truths and proofs of the Christian religion, in reference to which Voltaire himself was compelled to declare that France abounded with elegant writers,

but that Bossuet alone was eloquent ; the third part contains a noble and philosophical view of the causes of the rise and decline of empires.

The first of Bossuet's controversial works has been already alluded to, his refutation of Ferry's Catechism in 1655. His "Exposition of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church," *Exposition de l'Eglise Catholique sur les Matières de Controverse*, appeared in 1671. It was composed originally for the private use of the marquis de Daugeau, and having been shewn to the maréchal de Turenne, the most eminent protestant in France, induced him to become a member of the national church. This work established the reputation of Bossuet as one of the most skilful controversialists of that or perhaps of any age. But when we speak of his skill, we are not to be understood as admitting his candour, for his skill is often shewn in evading questions which he ought to answer, as is shewn by archbishop Wake in the introduction to his *Exposition of the doctrine of the church of England*. Taking his stand upon the doctrinal definitions of the council of Trent, he in fact leaves unguarded the mass of superstitions which are more than tacitly encouraged in every church where Romanism prevails. In his first draught of the work, he spoke of the invocation of saints as merely commended by the council of Trent, without being put on the footing of necessity or positive commandment, and he said of the mass that it might be *reasonably* called a Sacrifice ; thus leaving his reader to suppose that it was hardly more of a sacrifice than the sacrifice of prayer and praise. Before the work was published it was shewn to various friends of the writer, and he was induced to become less liberal in his statements, though the work even now contains statements which must be staggering to decided Romanists, so much so, that it was long before the book obtained any sanction from Rome. The university of Louvaine pronounced it to be scandalous and pernicious. Clement X,

who was pope at the time of its publication, positively refused to give his approbation to it; and although Innocent XI commended it in a brief dated January 4, 1679, he did so with caution. It is rather intended to blind the eyes of protestants favourably disposed to Rome, than to be a fair statement of Romish doctrine; it is a favourite book with Romish controversialists in a protestant country, but is viewed with suspicion in countries where Romanism is established. But if he thus published a work, full of concessions, and approaching to liberalism, to make easy to protestants their path to Rome, he published another work to disgust Romanists with protestantism, and to convince wavering Roman catholics that out of the church of Rome they could find no resting place, but must be always in a state of uncertainty and insecurity. This work is his "Variations of the Protestant Churches," *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, which was first published in 1688. It is perhaps the most powerful attack that has been made on protestantism; and few things are more splendid in polemical writing than his exposure of the weak points of Lutheranism in the first six books. In the sixth book he exposes the conduct of Luther, Melancthon, and other Lutheran divines in sanctioning bigamy, by permitting the marriage of landgrave of the Hesse, with a second wife during the lifetime of his first wife. His seventh, eighth, and tenth books, are devoted to the consideration of the reformation of the English church; and here he fails, because he, with great want of candour, will not remark the difference between reforming a Catholic church, by national synods, and the formation of an entirely new society. But this part of his work is useful in pointing out what, in the estimation of Romanists, are our weak points. His history of the French calvinists, or Huguenots,—of the Albigenses, and of the disputes between Arminius and Gomar, is very interesting and most ably done, due allowance being made for the bias of the author's mind. Bossuet's success in bringing over to the Gallican church some of the most distinguished of the

French protestants, naturally directed his mind to these subjects. Among his converts was mademoiselle de Duras, a niece of Turenne : and her name is singled out because it was at her request, and in the presence of several Huguenots, that Bossuet held his famous conference with John Claude, who represented the French protestants. The conference occurred in 1678, and as the dispute turned entirely on Church authority, Bossuet certainly had by far the best of the argument, and the lady yielding to her wishes became a Gallican.

In his education of the dauphin, Bossuet acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of Louis XIV, that he was appointed, in 1680, first almoner to the dauphiness, and in 1681 he became bishop of Meaux. Zealous as he was against protestantism, and prepared to maintain the doctrinal definitions of the council of Trent; he was equally prepared to maintain the liberties of the Gallican church from the aggressions of the papal court.

At the time of Bossuet's appointment to the see of Meaux, there was a considerable degree of irritation between Lewis XIV and the see of Rome. One of the principal points in contest between them respected the regale, or a right, claimed by the kings of France, to the revenues of every vacant see within their dominions, and to collate to the simple benefices within its jurisdiction. This was always viewed with jealousy, not only by the pope and foreign divines, but by the general body of the church of France ; and its warmest advocates treated it, rather as a tolerated, than an acknowledged claim. As such, it was admitted by the second council of Lyons ; but, with an express limitation of it to the territories, within which it was then actually exercised, and a denunciation of excommunication of those, who carried it beyond them. It was generally considered, that the provinces, bordering on the Alps and Pyrenees were not subject to it : and, on this ground, when Lewis the XIVth attempted to exercise it, during the vacancy of the see of Pamiers, the chapter resisted it ; and, after the bishop elect took pos-

session of his see, he pronounced, in his episcopal court, a sentence in favour of the proceeding of his chapter. An appeal from that sentence was carried to the court of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne. There, the sentence of the bishop was reversed; but the archbishop's own sentence was reversed at Rome. Upon this, the king issued an edict, by which he asserted his prerogative: the edict was immediately registered by the parliament, and acquiesced in by the assembly of the French clergy, which was then sitting at Paris.

It was foreseen by them, that their conduct would give great offence to the pope, and they feared that he would proceed to extreme measures against them. To ward them off, the archbishop of Rheims addressed to the pope a letter, in the names of himself and the other prelates, of whom the assembly was composed; in which, without pretending absolutely to justify their conduct, he said every thing which was likely to extenuate it, in the eyes of the pontiff, and to sooth his displeasure.—It was the composition of Bossuet, and written with equal force and address. The great services rendered by the king to religion, the magnitude of his power, and the possible consequences of incurring his displeasure, are held out in a strong point of view: but in terms, which would rather lead the pope to feel them, from his own conclusions, than by any direct expression of them in the letter. The real encroachment on the rights of the Church was said to be small, and some advantages were alleged to result from the modifications, which the edict made in the exercise of the right. Several examples were cited of popes, and other eminent personages, who had waived their clearest rights, rather than provoke dangerous discussion.

At this time pope Innocent the XIIth filled the papal chair. He was born in the dominions of Austria;—father d'Avrigni describes him as a person warmly attached, in politics, to the interests of that house, and ill-disposed towards France: easily carried away by first impressions; inflexible in what he thought his duty, and had once

resolved upon; lofty in his carriage; of great austerity, both in principles and conduct, and of repulsive manners. A pope of such a character was likely to be much offended by the king's extension of the regale, and the acquiescence in it on the part of the prelates. Immediately on the receipt of their letter, the pope answered it by a very angry brief, in which he reproached them in severe terms, for their pusillanimity; annulled their proceedings; and required them to return to their duty, without delay; and, in hopes of it, gave them his benediction.

The contents and style of the brief had been foreseen by the prelates. The public attention was engaged by the dispute; and the worst consequences were feared, as it was thought improbable, that either the pontiff or the monarch would recede from his pretensions.

Without expecting the answer of the pope, the prelates petitioned the king to call a national council, or a general assembly of the clergy of France. The king preferred the latter, and it was opened on the 9th of November, in the year 1682, by a solemn high mass, at which Bossuet pronounced an eloquent sermon. He was afterwards commissioned to prepare the four articles, which the assembly promulgated as the Gallican creed on the limitations of papal authority. In the first article it was decided that the papal power extended not to things civil and temporal; in the second, the authority of councils is declared to be superior to that of the pope, according to what has been defined on the subject by the council of Constance; in the third it was declared that the rules, customs, and usages received by the kingdom and churches of France, should be inviolably observed: in the fourth it is asserted that the decisions of the pope in questions of faith are not irreformable, unless they have the consent of the Church.

These articles passed unanimously, and the monarch was desired to publish them throughout his kingdom. He immediately issued an edict, by which, he ordered the declaration to be registered by all the parliaments, baili-

wicks, stewarties, universities and faculties of divinity and canon law, within his dominions. The edict forbad all persons, secular or regular, to write or teach any thing contrary to the declaration ; and that no person should be appointed professor of theology, who did not previously engage to teach no other doctrine.

The declaration met with little opposition in France.

Its reception in Italy was very different, and it would consume more space than we can afford, to give even an outline of the contests to which it gave rise, between the Gallicans on the one side, and the ultra-montanes on the other. Bossuet wrote a defence of his conduct on this occasion in Latin ; but though composed in the year 1683 and 1684, it was not published until 1730, when it appeared at Luxemburg, in two volumes, 4to, with this title, *Defensio Declarationis celeberrimæ quam de Potestate Ecclesiastica sanxit clerus Gallicanus, 19 Martii, 1682 ab illis. ac rev. Jacobo Benigno Bossuet, Meldensi Episcopo, ex speciali jussu Ludovici Magni scripta.* It is remarkable that this work, by one of the most distinguished polemics on the side of Romanism, was put into the Roman *index* of prohibited books.

For an account of Bossuet's controversy with the mystics, the reader is referred to the Life of Fenelon. By Fenelon Madame Guyon's theory of a religious life within the breasts of individuals, was defended in his celebrated *Explication des Maximes des Saints sur l'interieure* : and not only was he opposed by Bossuet, but the bishop of Meaux never ceased from importunities to Louis XIV, and Innocent XII, until, in 1699, Fenelon's book was branded at Rome as erroneous. The conduct of Bossuet in this controversy was discreditable in the extreme.—*See the Life of Fenelon.*

He was engaged in other controversies, as with Simôn, the father of modern biblical criticism, in whose writings he perceived a socinian tendency ; with Launoy ; and with one who is often referred to in these pages, the learned, candid, and unprejudiced Dupin. Against his

Bibliothèque des Peres, Bossuet presented a memorial, which produced the seizure of the whole impression of the work.—*See Life of Dupin.*

The correspondence between Bossuet and Leibnitz, on the re-union of the Lutheran protestants with the Roman Catholic church, is of a character too interesting not to be noticed.

It appears that, towards the close of the 17th century, the emperor Leopold, and several sovereign princes in Germany, conceived a project of re-uniting the Roman catholic and Lutheran churches. The duke of Brunswick, who had recently embraced the Roman catholic religion, and published his “Fifty Reasons” for his conversion, (once a popular work of controversy), and the duke of Hanover, the father of the first prince of the illustrious house, which now fills the throne of England, were the original promoters of the attempt. It was generally approved; and the mention of it at the diet of the empire was favourably received. Some communications upon it took place, between the emperor and the ducal princes: and, with the knowledge of them all, several conferences were held, upon the subject, between certain distinguished Roman catholic and protestant divines. In these, the bishop of Neustadt, and Molanus, the abbot of Lokkum, took the lead. The first had been consecrated bishop of Tina in Bosnia, then under the dominion of the Turks, with ordinary jurisdiction over some parts of the Turkish territories. His conduct had recommended him to Innocent XI, and that pope had directed him to visit the protestant states in Germany, and inform him of their actual dispositions, in respect to the church of Rome. In consequence of this mission, he became known to the emperor, who appointed him to the see of Neustadt, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Molanus was director of the protestant churches and consistories of Hanover. Both were admirably calculated for the office intended for them on this occasion: each enjoyed the confidence of his own party, and was esteemed by the other: each was

profoundly versed in the matters in dispute : each possessed good sense, moderation, and conciliating manners, and each had the success of the business at heart, and a fixed purpose, that nothing, but a real difference on some essential article of doctrine, should frustrate the project.

The effect of the first conferences were so promising, that the emperor and the two princes resolved that they should be conducted in a manner more regular, and more likely to bring the object of them to a conclusion. With this view, the business was formally intrusted, by both the princes, to Molanus alone ; and the emperor published a rescript, dated the 20th March, 1691, by which he gave the bishop of Neustadt full authority to treat on all matters of religion, with the states, communities, and individuals of the empire ; reserving to the ecclesiastical and imperial powers, their right to confirm the acts of the bishop, as they should judge advisable. Under these auspicious circumstances, the conference between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus began.

But, before the events which we have mentioned, took place, a correspondence, on the subject of a general reunion between Roman catholics and protestants, had been carried on for some time, between Pelisson and Leibnitz. The former held a considerable rank among the French writers, who adorned the reign of Lewis the XIVth ; the latter was eminently distinguished in the literary world. In the exact sciences he was inferior to Newton alone ; in metaphysics he had no superior ; in general learning he had scarcely a rival.

His correspondence with Pelisson came to the knowledge of Louisa, princess palatine and abbess of Maubrusson. She was a daughter of the elector and count palatine of the Rhine, and sister of the duchess of Hanover. She had in early life been converted to Romanism, and had the conversion of her sister very much at heart. With this view, she sent to her the correspondence between

Leibnitz and Pelisson, and received from her an account of what was passing between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus. Both the ladies were anxious to promote the measure, and that Bossuet should take in it the leading part on the side of the Romanists. This was mentioned to Lewis the XIVth, and had his approbation. The emperor and both the princes, by all of whom Bossuet was personally esteemed, equally approved of it; and it was finally settled that Bossuet and Leibnitz should be joined to the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus, and that the correspondence with Bossuet should pass through the hands of madame de Brinon, who acted as secretary to the abbess of Maubrusson, and is celebrated, by the writers of the times, for her wit and dexterity in business. Thus the matter assumed a still more regular form, and much was expected from the acknowledged talents, learning, and moderation of the actors in it, and their patrons.

The conferences between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus continued for seven months, and ended in their agreeing on twelve articles, to serve for the basis of the discussion, on the terms of the re-union.

The bishop of Neustadt communicated these articles to Bossuet. He seems to have approved of them generally, but to have thought that some alteration in them was advisable. This being mentioned to Molanus, he published his *Cogitationes Privatae*, a profound and conciliating dissertation. Without entering into any discussion, on the points in dispute between the churches, he suggested in it a kind of truce, during which there should be ecclesiastical communion between them: the Lutherans were to acknowledge the pope, as the first of bishops in order and dignity: the church of Rome was to receive the Lutherans, as her children, without exacting from them any retractation of their alleged errors, or any renunciation of the articles in their creed, condemned by the council of Trent. The anathemas of that council were to be suspended, and a general council was to be

convened, in which the protestants were to have a deliberative voice: the sentence of that council was to be definitive, and, in the mean time, the members of each party were to treat the members of the other as brethren, whose errors, however great they might appear, were to be tolerated from motives of peace, and in consideration of their engagements to abandon them, if the council should pronounce against them. To shew the probability of a final accommodation, Molanus notices in his dissertation several points in which one party imputed to the other errors not justly chargeable on them; several in which they disputed merely for want of rightly understanding each other; and several in which the dispute was of words only.

It appears that the bishop of Neustadt communicated this dissertation to Bossuet, and that Bossuet was delighted with the good sense, candour, and true spirit of conciliation which it displayed. He frequently, and always in terms of the highest praise, mentions its author in his letters. His own language was equally moderate and conciliating. "The council of Trent," he says in one of his letters, "is our stay;—but we shall not use it to prejudice the cause. This would be to take for granted what is in dispute between us. We shall deal more fairly with our opponents. We shall make the council serve for a statement and explanation of our doctrines. Thus we shall come to an explanation on those points, in which either of us imputes to the other what he does not believe, and in which we dispute only because we misconceive each other. This may lead us far; for the abbot of Lokkum has actually conciliated the points so essential, of Justification and the Eucharist: nothing is wanting to him, on that side, but that he should be avowed. Why should we not hope to conclude, in the same manner, disputes less difficult and of less importance?"

With these rational and conciliatory dispositions, Bossuet and Molanus proceeded. But, after this stage of the

business, Molanus disappears, and Leibnitz comes on the scene.

A letter, written by Bossuet to M. de Brinon, having been communicated by her to Leibnitz, opened the correspondence between him and Bossuet. In that letter, Bossuet declared explicitly, that the church of Rome was ready to make concessions on points of discipline, and to explain doctrines, but would make no concession in respect to defined articles of faith; and, in particular, would make no such concession in respect to any, which had been defined by the council of Trent. Leibnitz's letter to M. de Brinon, in answer to this communication, is very important. He expresses himself in these terms: "The bishop of Meaux says, 1st, That the project delivered to the bishop of Neustadt does not appear to him quite sufficient; 2ndly, That it is nevertheless very useful, as every thing must have its beginning; 3dly, That Rome will never relax from any point of doctrine, defined by the Church, and cannot capitulate in respect to any such article; 4thly, That the doctrine, defined in the council of Trent, is received in and out of France by all Roman catholics: 5thly, That satisfaction may be given to protestants, in respect to certain points of discipline, or in the way of explanation, and that this had been already done in an useful manner, in some points, mentioned in the project of the bishop of Neustadt. These are the material propositions in the letter of the bishop of Meaux, and I believe all these propositions true. Neither the bishop of Neustadt, nor those who negociated with them, make any opposition to them. There is nothing in them which is not conformable to the sentiments of those persons. The third of them in particular, which might be thought an obstacle to these projects of accommodation, could not be unknown to them; one may even say, that they built on it."

It seems difficult to deny, that, in this stage of the business, much had been gained to the cause of re-union.

The parties were come to a complete understanding on the important articles of justification and the eucharist; and it was admitted both by Leibnitz and Molanus, that, in their view of the matter, an accommodation might be effected between the Roman catholic and Lutheran churches, though the former retained all her defined doctrines, and, in particular, all her doctrines defined by the council of Trent. The question then was, what should be done in respect to the remaining articles in difference between the churches. It is to be wished that it had been left to Bossuet and Molanus to settle them, in the way of amicable explanation, in which, they had settled the two important articles, which we have mentioned. It is evident, from the passages which we have cited from Bossuet, that it was his wish that the business should proceed on that plan, and that he had hopes of its success. Unfortunately, the business took another direction: Leibnitz proclaimed, that, after every possible explanation should be given, the Lutheran church would still retain some articles contrary to the defined doctrines of the church of Rome, and anathematized by the council of Trent. To remove the final effect of this objection, Leibnitz held out Molanus's first project, that the Lutherans should express a general acquiescence in the authority of the Church, and promise obedience to the decisions of a general council, to be called for the purpose of pronouncing on these points; and that, in consequence of these advances on their part, the anathemas of the council of Trent should be suspended, and the Lutherans received, provisionally, within the pale of the catholic Church. To bring over Bossuet to this plan, he exerted great eloquence, and displayed no common learning.

But the eloquence and learning of Leibnitz were without effect. In language equally temperate and firm, Bossuet adhered to his text, that, in matters of discipline, or any other matter, distinct from faith, the church of Rome would shew the utmost indulgence to the Lutherans;

but that, on articles of faith, and especially on those propounded by the council of Trent, there could be no compromise. But this he confined to articles of faith alone; and, even on articles of faith, he wished to consult the feelings of protestants, as much as possible. He offered them every fair explanation of the tenets of the council; he required from them no retractation of their own tenets: "Molanus," he says, "will not allow retractation to be mentioned. It may be dispensed with; it will be sufficient that the parties acknowledge the truth, by way of declaration or explanation. To this, the symbolical books give a clear opening, as appears by the passages which have been produced from them, and will appear, by other passages, which may be produced from them."

If Bossuet was thus considerate in what regarded faith, it will easily be supposed, how indulgent his sentiments were, in regard to all that merely regarded discipline. A complete confession of faith being once obtained from the Lutherans, he was willing to allow them, if they required it, communion under both kinds;—that their bishops should retain their sees;—and that, where there was no bishop, and the whole body of the people was protestant, under the care of a superintendant, the superintendant should be consecrated their bishop:—that, where there was a catholic bishop, and a considerable part of the diocese was Lutheran, the superintendant should be consecrated priest, and invested with rank and office;—that the Lutheran ministers should be consecrated priests; that provision should be made for their support;—that such of their bishops and ministers as were married might retain their wives;—and that the consciences of those, who held possessions of the church, should be quieted, except in respect to hospitals, whose possessions, he thought, could not conscientiously be withheld from the poor objects of their foundations; and that every other arrangement should be made, by the Church and state, which would be agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of their new brethren.

Such were the advances made by Bossuet; and much discussion on them took place between him and Leibnitz. They continued ten years. They are very learned, and a scholar will read them with delight; but, unfortunately, they rather retarded, than promoted their object. The real business ended, when Molanus quitted the scene.

Such is the account given by Charles Butler of this transaction. Dom. de Foris, the Benedictine editor of Bossuet, and the abbé Racine, are very severe in their censures of the conduct of Leibnitz in the negociations for the re-union, and attribute its failure to his presumption and duplicity. But, as Mr Butler justly observes, while the business was in the hands of Bossuet and Molanus, it was a treaty, not for the re-union of the Roman catholic church and all protestant sects, but for the re-union of the Roman catholic church and the Lutherans. Leibnitz, whose principles in religion were much wider than those of Molanus, seems to have wished to place the negociation on a broader basis, and extended to a re-union of the church of Rome with every denomination of Christians. This gave the negociation a new turn, and ended what had been so happily begun. The attempt now related to what was clearly impracticable. Bossuet always expressed great hopes that, if the matter were left to Molanus and him, the project of re-union would be crowned with success. There is no part of Bossuet's literary or active life, in which he appears to greater advantage, or in a more amiable light, than on this occasion.

Zealous as Bossuet was for the conversion of the French protestants to the Gallican church, in his controversies with them, he always abstained from personalities, injurious language, and insults; and he is said to have lamented, in common with Fenelon and Flechier, the persecution of the Huguenots which followed on the revocation of the edict of Nantes: though he certainly did admit in theory the right of Christian princes to enforce acts of religious conformity, by "wholesome severities." In early life he had devoted himself to biblical studies,

and to promote these studies, when he became a bishop he held frequent conferences with his clergy. A considerable portion of his time was always devoted to prayer and devotional exercises. He was a frequent preacher, and composed three catechisms for his diocese, for beginners, the instructed, and the well-instructed. His correspondence as a spiritual adviser was extensive, although he did not generally hear confessions. His sermons in his diocese were short and simple, often extempore, though seldom unprepared. His sermons at court, and his funeral orations, rank high in the literature of France.

As a proof of the candour which he certainly possessed, it may be mentioned, that when Robert Nelson, who knew him well, and whose wife he was mainly instrumental in perverting to Romanism, forwarded to him a copy of his friend Dr Bull's famous *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, he acknowledged the receipt of it in terms of the highest commendation; at the same time sending its author the united congratulations of the clergy of France. In the letter which conveyed this flattering distinction, Bossuet expressed his surprise, that any one who spoke so advantageously of the Church could continue a moment without acknowledging her, and wishes to be informed what the writer means by the term "Catholic Church." To this letter Bull wrote a long reply, now known under the title of *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome in relation to Ecclesiastical Government, the rule of Faith, and form of Divine worship*—in which he shews that the Roman church and the catholic Church are not convertible terms; the great danger of salvation to those who live in communion with the church of Rome; and that the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the council of Nice is no argument for such assistance in the convention of Trent. It is to be regretted, as a prolonged controversy between disputants of such acknowledged piety and learning might have been attended with beneficial results, that Bossuet died just after Bull's answer had been sent to Nelson, to be forwarded by him to the bishop; and hence he never

received it. He died at Paris on the 12th of April, 1704, employing himself in his last illness with a commentary on the 22d psalm, or as it is numbered in the vulgate the 21st. He was buried in his own cathedral of Meaux. His funeral was attended by the most distinguished prelates of France, and an oration was pronounced on the occasion. The same honour was paid to his memory in the college of Navarre, where cardinal de Noialles performed the pontifical ceremonies; while at Rome, in the college of the Propaganda, Chevalier Maffei celebrated his death by an oration pronounced before cardinals, prelates, and other eminent personages. Never indeed was any divine more honoured in life, or more lamented in death, by the Gallican church, than the bishop of Meaux, who is considered by Gallicans to have been the last of the fathers. This is flattery: but it must be admitted that he who could boast of bishop Bull and Robert Nelson among his eulogists was no ordinary man.—*Life by Charles Butler. Nouvelle Edition des œuvres de Bossuet. Nelson's Life of Bull. Hallam's Literature of Europe. Mosheim. Teale's Life of Bull.*

G. CRAWSHAW, PRINTER, LEEDS.





